

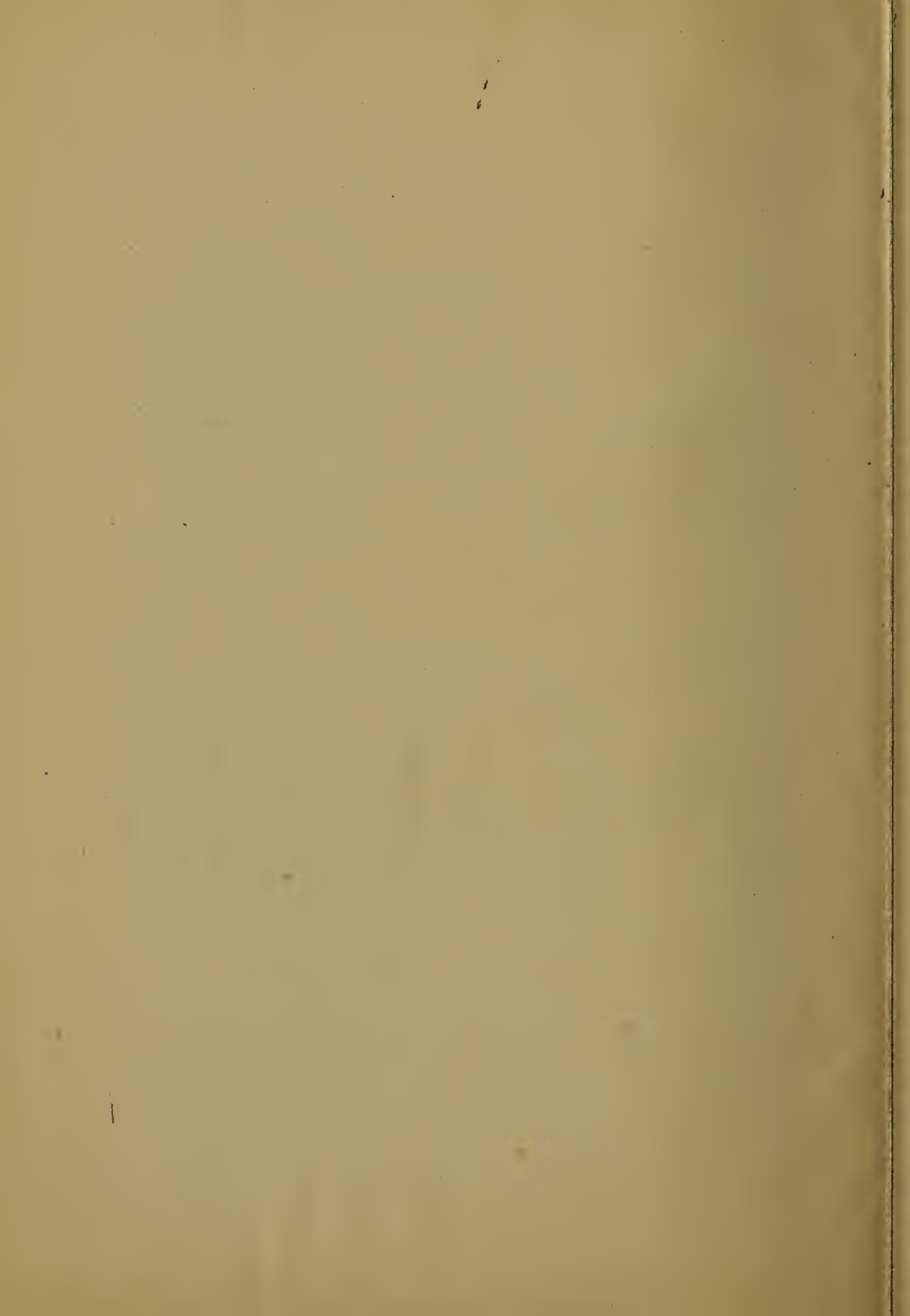
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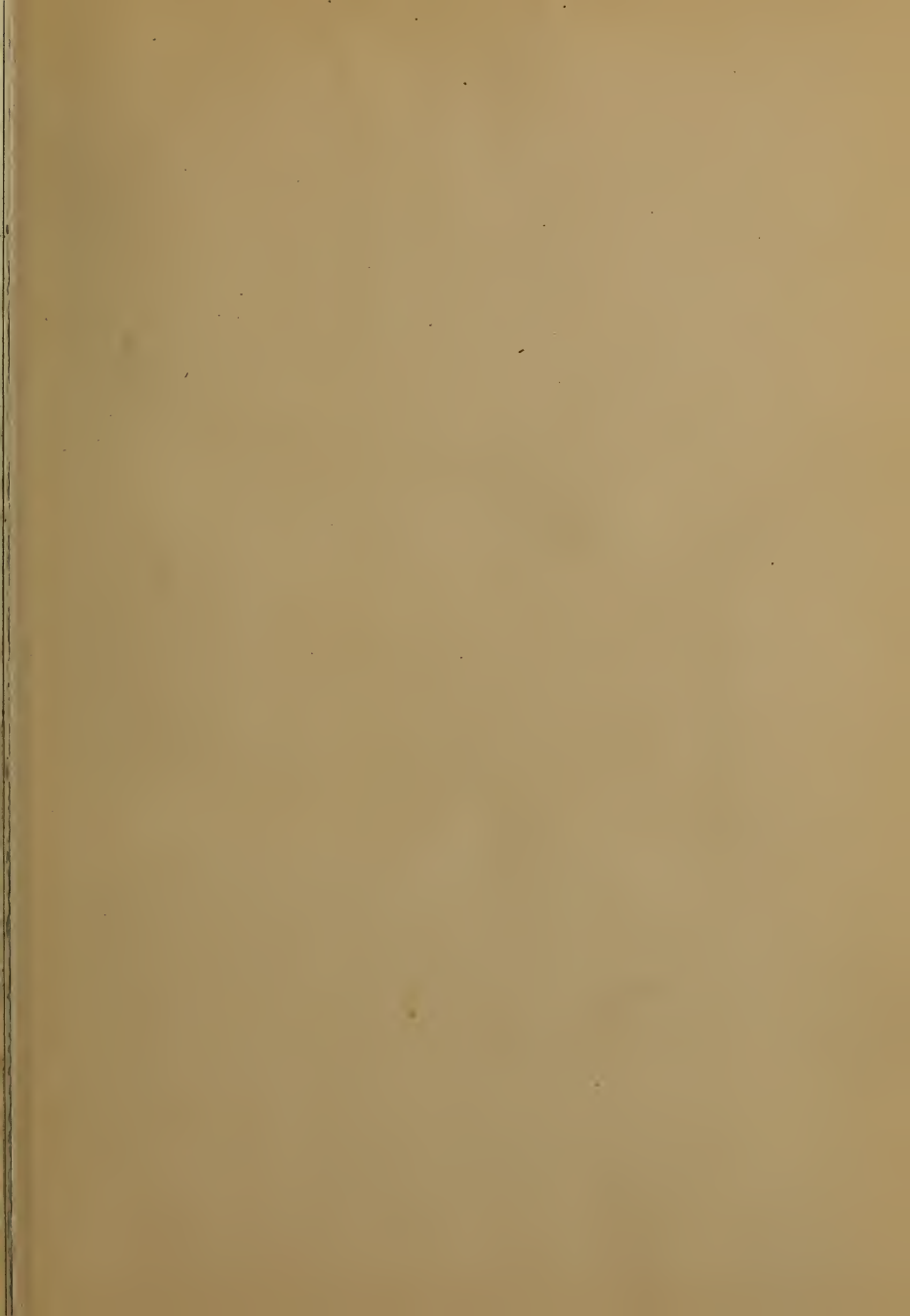
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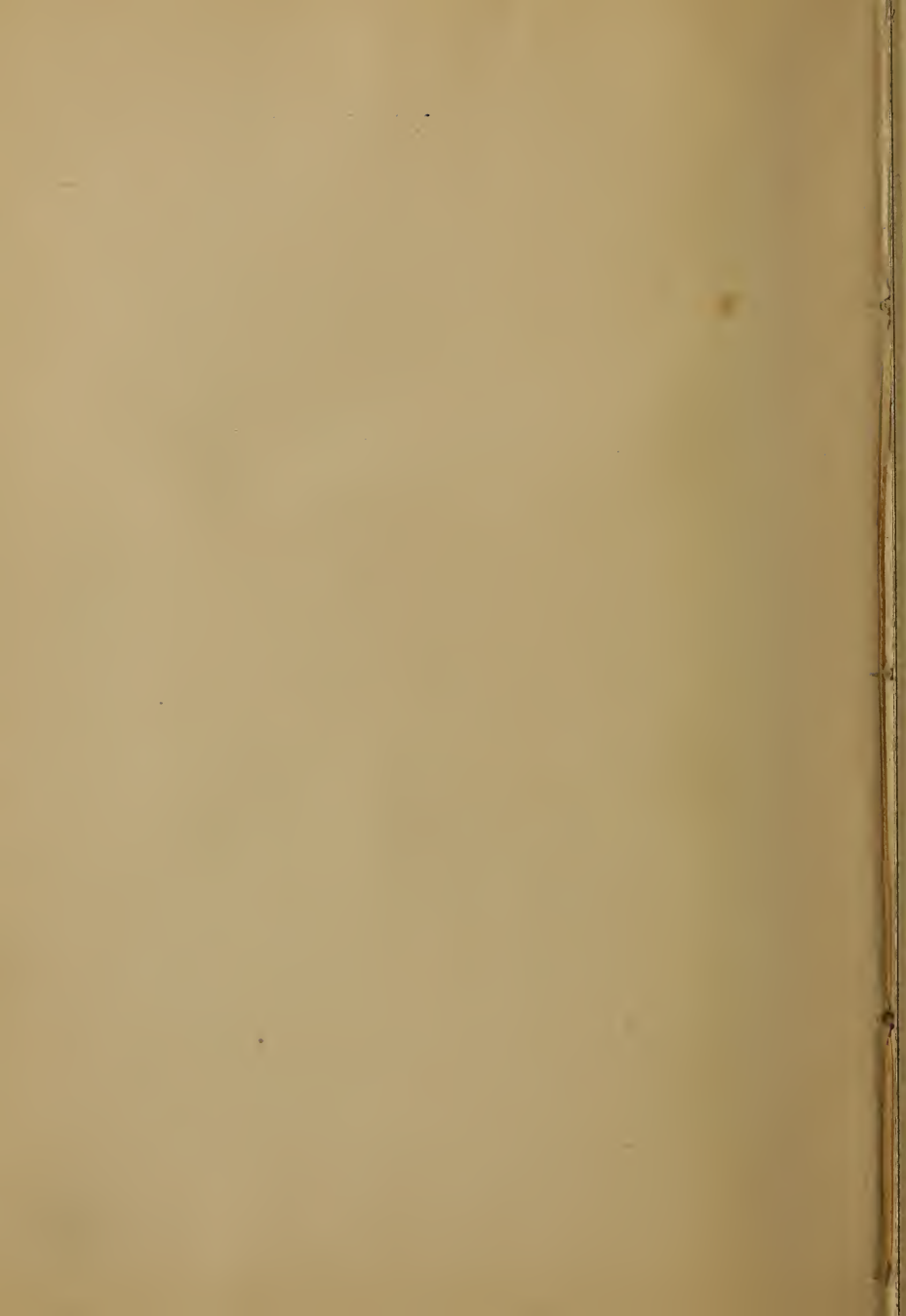
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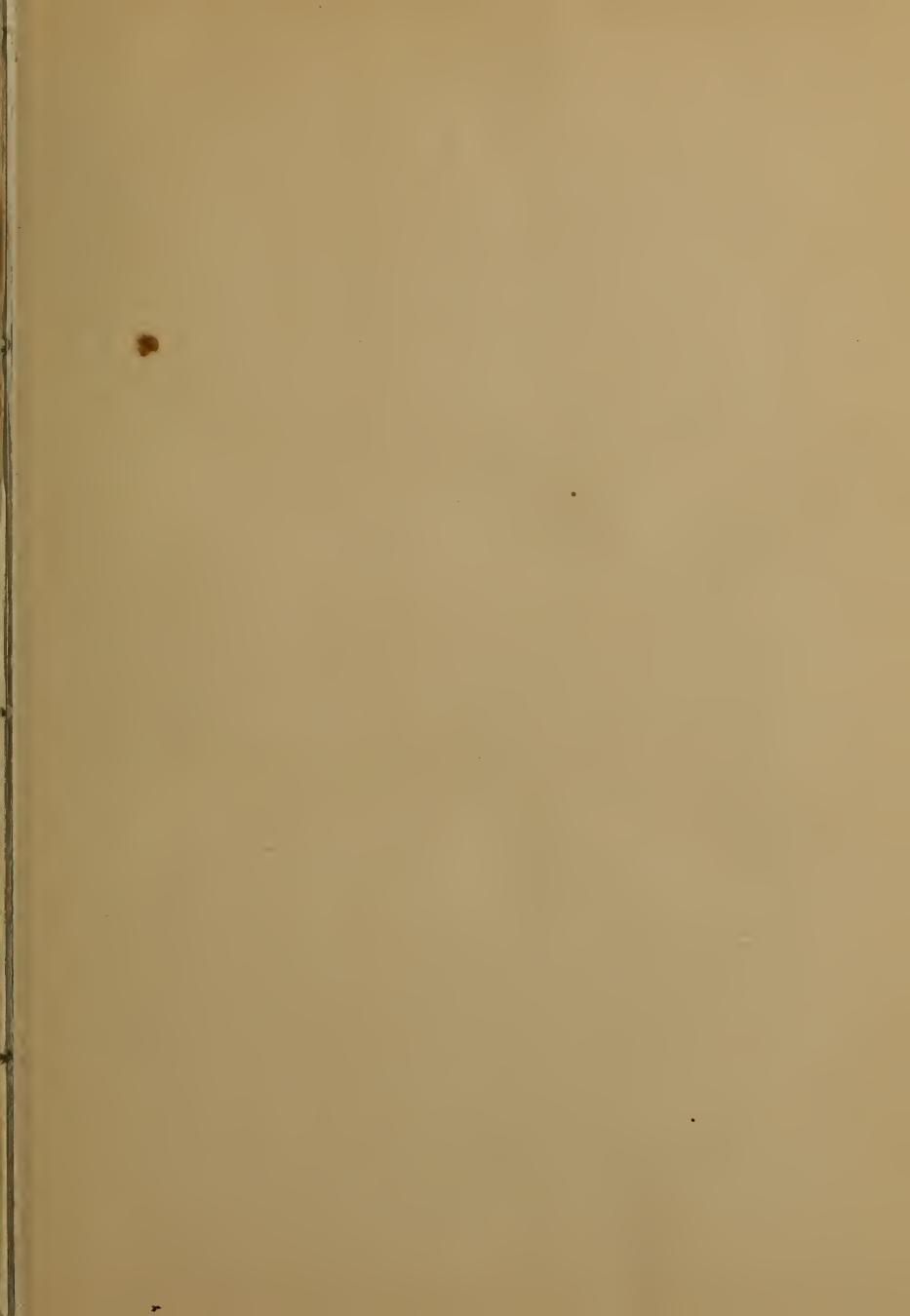
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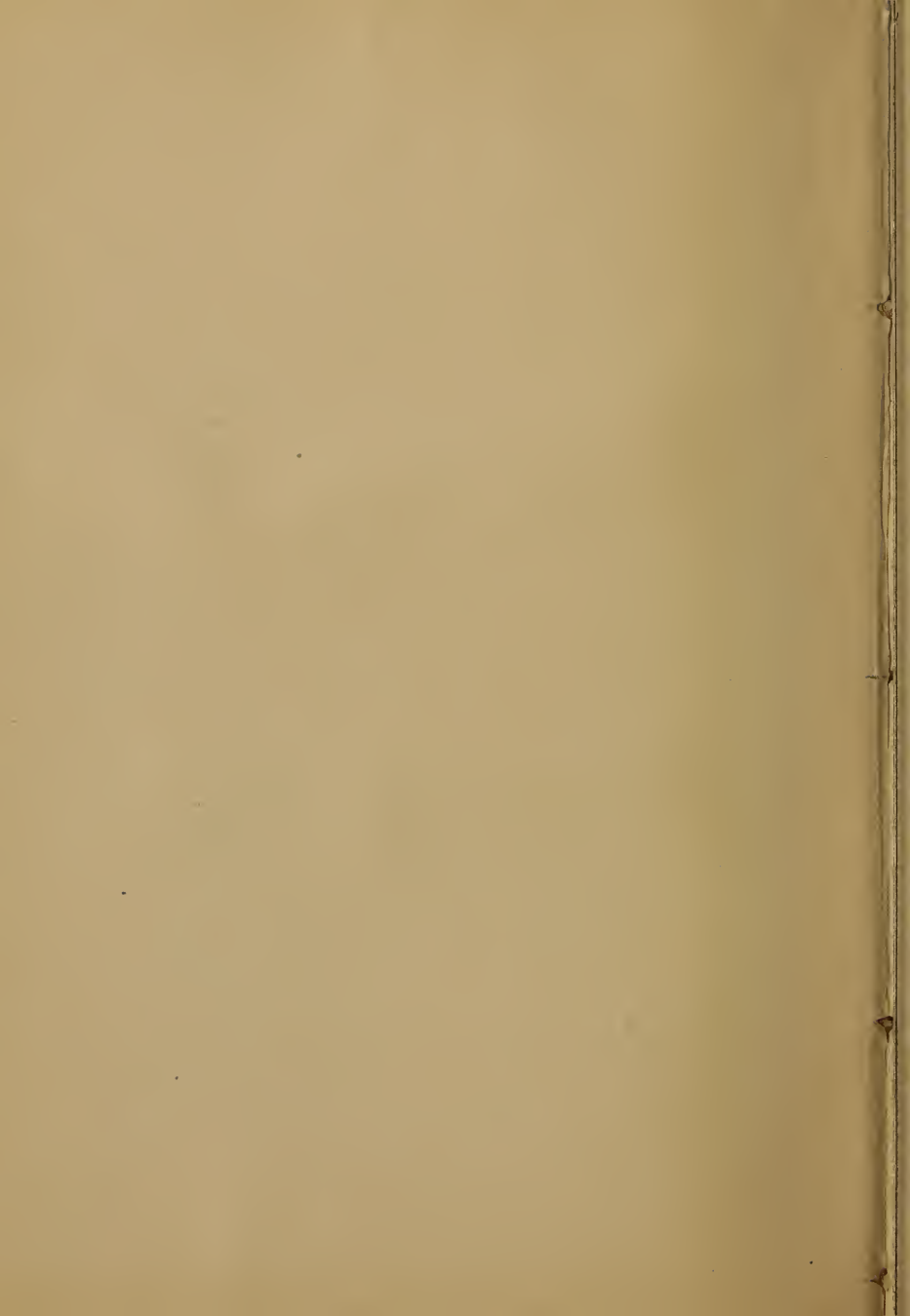
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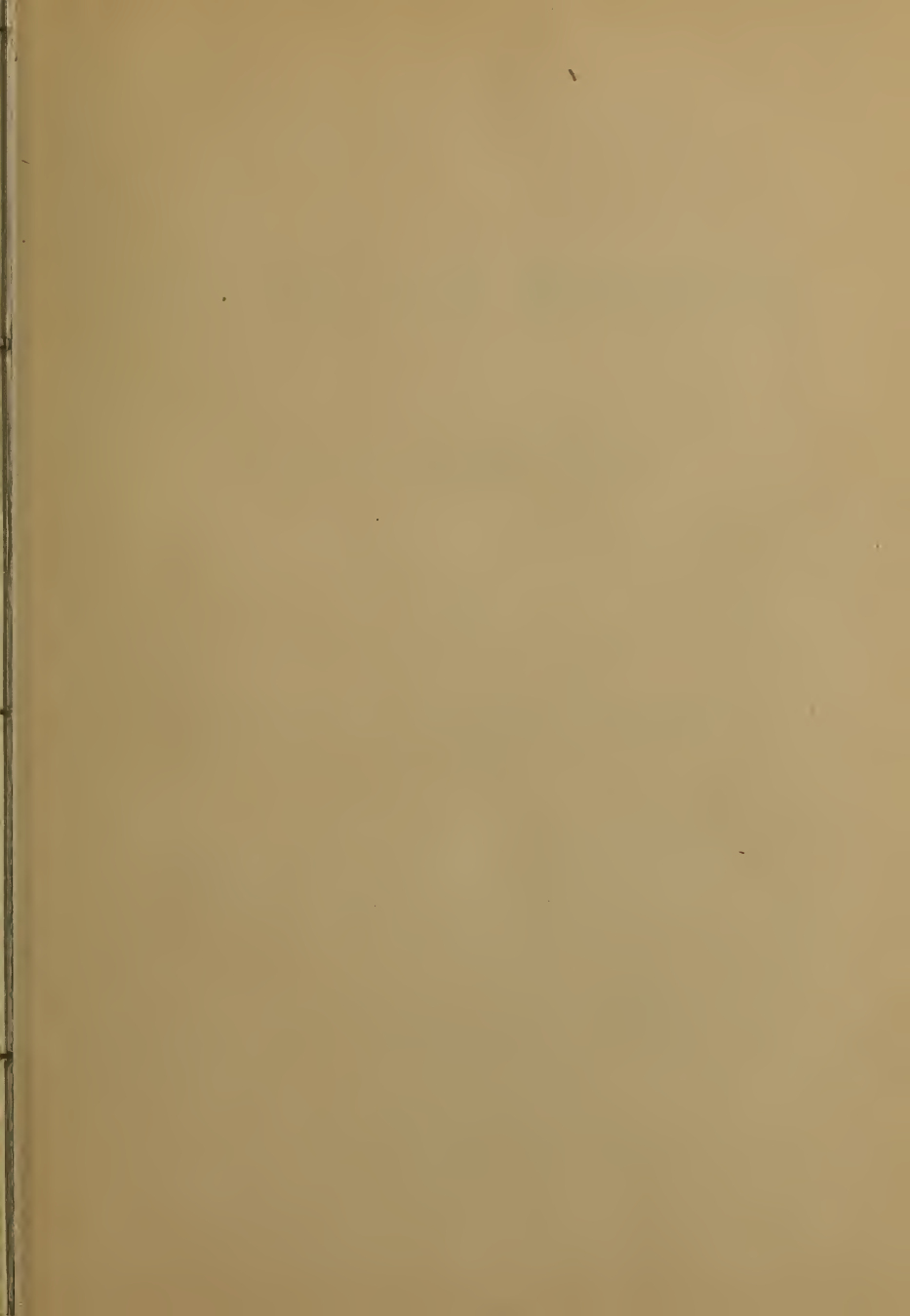


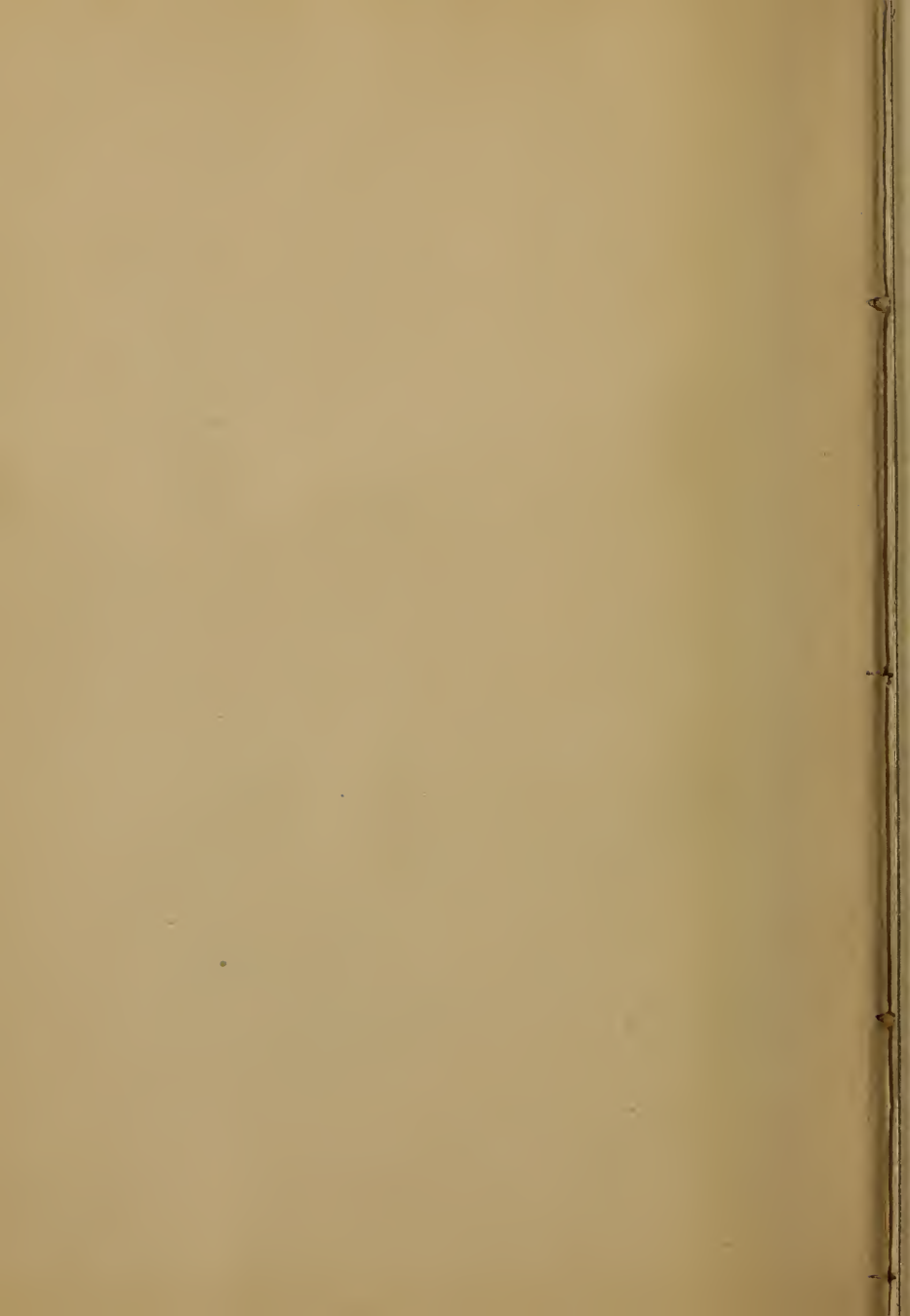








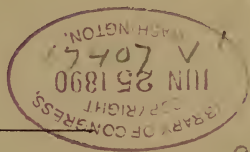




AMERICAN
SOCIALISM AND MONOPOLISM
CONTRASTED,

BY

✓
CHARLES CANDEE GREEN.



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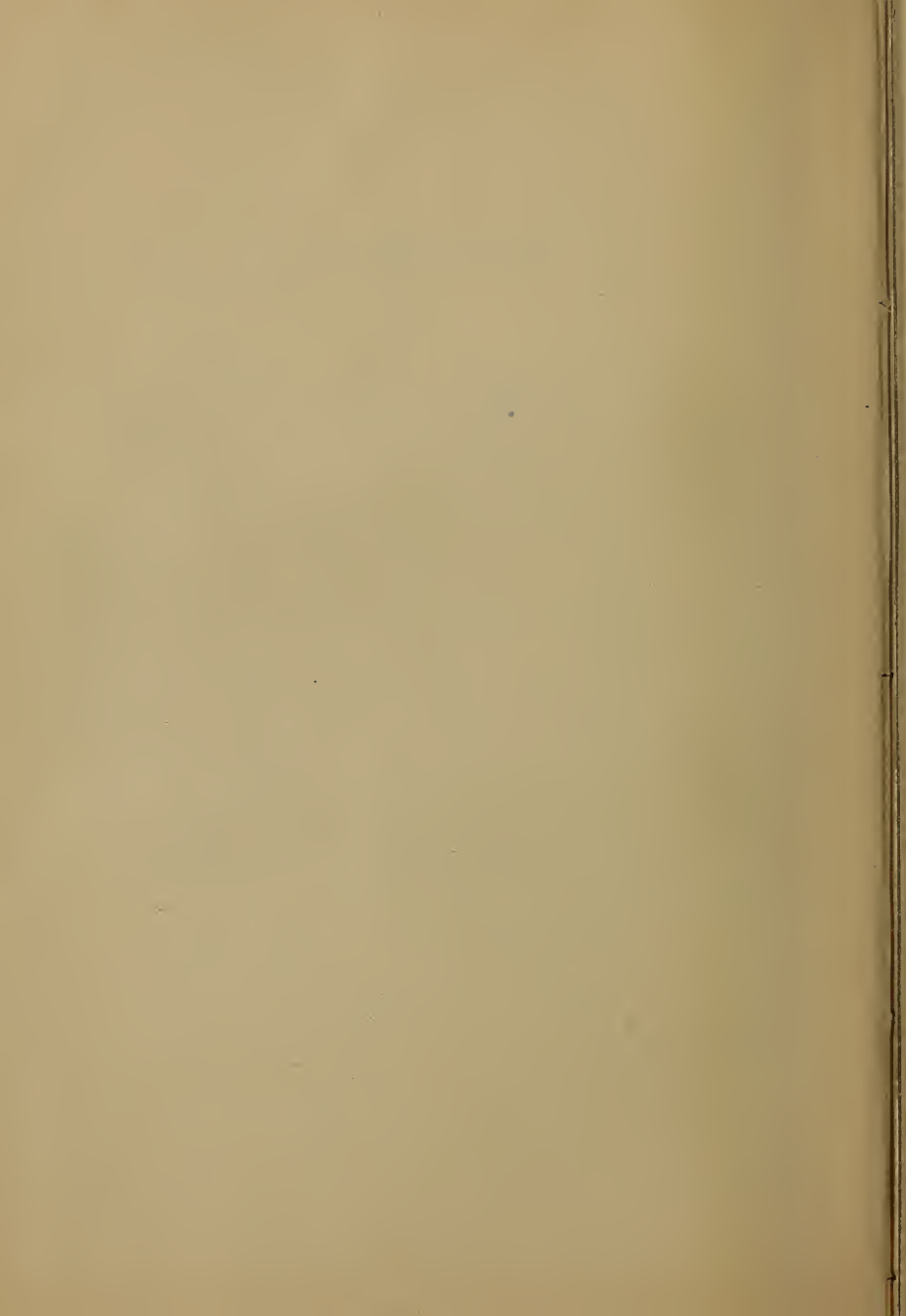
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INTRODUCTION.

A treatise on the present taxed political status of the wages or wealth of American labor; compared with one, as American institutions provide, freeing them from all charges for the benefit of private interests or monopolies without equivalent: and also from charges of custom duty penalties, substantially for revenue only, as under tariff restrictions made therefor, that in their nature protect incidentally only American landlord monopolies, in their political power of exacting bounties or royalties in the cost of raw materials, out of the profits that pertain to American labor in the wealth it produces, in derogation of the protection due it under American institutions.



FEDERAL TARIFF RESTRICTIONS,

EMBRACING THE POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL STATUS OF THE
AMERICAN NEGRO.

The subject logically involves consideration of the rectitude of American political party Federal policy, applied as a means for the protection of the natural and political rights of American labor, or, as an infringement of those rights, already guaranteed protection by American institutions.

Every electoral majority political party in Federal power is an incumbent, responsible to American citizenship for the amount of profits or capital for the purposes of national wealth, beyond needs of subsistence, American industry shall receive for its labor; by the way its political policy affects this industry's political and natural rights of free trade. This policy will either facilitate the acquisition of wealth in hands of American labor, by a protection of its natural rights already acquired as a political heritage under the Federal constitution, or else it will serve private interests or monopolies, at cost or sacrifice of those rights that belong in common to all American labor, and therefore cause all American wealth to have less actual purchasing power, intrinsic value, than American institutions unviolated, provides it shall have in the possession of this labor. This protection of private interests or monopolies, in special privileges by a paternal government, that enables them to absorb the profits of labor as their own capital, must inevitably re-

sult that this charge or cost of such protection comes out of the wealth of American labor as pure penalties—without any free trade conditions—with only arbitrary conditions, and therefore without recompense to American toil. This thereby lowers the value of the wealth American labor shall have political right to possess, and even that wealth to be, not free from the political entailment of a perpetual debt of usury.

A political party that makes laws to exact any charges or penalties whatever out of the wealth of American labor, for benefit of private interest or monopolies, without any equivalent or co-operative return, is false to its trust to execute the law of the Federal relation for full protection from the oppression of this labor by any such charges or penalties.

The party policy of Federal restrictions on free use or trade of its own wealth by American labor, these inflicting without benefit, only charges or penalties, transfers by exercise of irresponsible, imperial power of the Federal relation, not derived from the States, the profits produced by American labor—lawfully its own capital—to a protected income class, thereby removing all the power of the States to protect the wealth of their citizens from depredation by a force that is alien to the realm and American institutions.

Such an income class is, by this party policy, made into a politically protected monopoly, invested with power to absorb all the capital of the nation without any return or obligation. It is constituted with power to hold this wealth—not in trust as national capital, subject to the law for the benefit of the commonwealth but—for its own uses of oppression, all laid on American

labor, which, by the venal vote and its own, it has assumed to bear.

This party policy leaves American labor without any protection of its vested political rights, but only in a political condition of an oppressed, assaulted, poor, unprovided, servile class, because of being compelled to support a ruling income aristocracy, as an established precedent and condition, regardless of the political rights of protection due it under American institutions; this policy furnishing no precedent of American labor being the income class of the nation, as American institutions have provided; and as such, holding in trust the political liberties of labor, to be handed down to future generations as the Magna Charta of American institutions—the only foundation on which a superstructure can be built, that will stand the friction of ages.

Any party maintaining such a policy of restrictions is an enemy of American labor and a friend of monopoly oppressions. It would have a political status of aristocracy of wealth, and a servile, dependent, toiling labor class.

Legislation conforming to American institutions, must have for its purpose the establishment of a political condition of self-interest in each producer, in being co-operative with all others. Every one must be protected alike by the power of the civil law. Each one must labor in harmony with his co-laborer, to enable all to be fairly co-operative and every one have profits for labor. American labor must be without toil and oppression. It must possess the wealth of the nation. Federal legislation must not favor a political condition in which one class of consumers, who are equally capa-

ble of being producers, are enabled to live on the toil of all the rest, without compensation for that toil, leaving a toiling class to be in a poor, degraded, defenseless condition, only robbed, not protected, by civil law.

The natural, intrinsic value of wealth, which includes profits, is the one that American labor has the political right to be protected in possessing if it produces it, by the contract of the Federal relation.

American institutions, defined by the rule of the Federal constitution, declare only that the laborer is worthy of his hire. There are no qualifications abridging this right. There was once a qualification, that was, the law of slavery.

The protection of this right must be pre-eminently to induce American industrial co-operation in the production for itself of profits or capital, by its freedom from all restrictions that depreciate the natural value of its wealth.

Under the Federal constitution, American labor is the only rightful possessor of the profits or capital arising from its production of wealth. The policy of the party in power denies this lawful right.

It is the duty of American labor, by its vote, to demand that no party in power shall have a policy, or dare to legislate not subserviently to this right. No political combination in power shall make statutes impairing this already politically guaranteed right of labor, by withholding the free use of the natural sources of wealth, as the lawful means for employment by American labor to secure for itself the profits of the wealth it produces.

It will be maintained herein that this political right of labor has been flagrantly violated, more or less, since

the foundation of the Federal government. The original governments of the States were empowered to protect the right of American labor to have free trade at home, in the use of its own natural monopolies, also abroad, for its own products therefrom, which secured profits to labor. American political duty is to protect thus, in securing to American labor the best wages or most wealth in the world, after having produced them.

The Federal government forbids legislation, compelling American labor to produce wealth that others may possess the profits, and thus leave it to be only a poor, degraded, servile, dependent labor. It requires this to elevate the general condition of its labor.

American Federal institutions, designed by their protective power to secure American industry more wealth or capital for its own labor, than that to any other labor whose government appropriated wealth without consent of producers, to support a more politically protected and privileged income class.

American industry uniting, under colonial representation, for co-operation of its own labor and capital, established its political right to be free, independent and self-employed, to thereby produce for itself ample wealth. This was to be distributed to every member of its political society, in the amount he produced, without any exception or reservation whatever. This political right, that labor is worthy of its hire, was obtained by a severance of all political connections with the British empire, which then did, and still does, tax penalties out of the wealth of its own labor, so that it is not co-operative and self-employed, but a dependent, toiling mass—a class employed under political coercion, for the imperial

purpose of supporting a class on income without any production of wealth by it, its government forcing labor to accept a bare subsistence for endless toil, throughout its generations, under duress for its necessities, of more than natural human endurance, it becoming therefore as its abnormal, second nature, a degraded, servile, vicious, under-bred class, not from natural causes, but by means of wrongful political oppression. American labor is practically in the same condition, tending downward.

There was a political infringement on the natural rights of American labor to the free trade in its own wealth, that led to the Revolution. It was intended, by a British imperial system of over and unequal taxation of its labor only, this to be shared by the American system, that there should be less wealth as the freehold of American labor. Its foreign exchanges were to be taxed. The profits of American labor were to be appropriated thereby for the support of her income aristocracies, although nominally for revenue, but this revenue enabled the monopoly accumulations to remain untouched, which amounted to the same thing.

It was intended to be established, as a British precedent of imperial taxation of profits out of the wealth produced by American industry, without its consent, while it was still too weak to resist might over its natural rights. American industry then demanded uncompromised rights of free trade at home and abroad in its own products—that they be not burdened with tariff for revenue charges on them. This would prevent their securing full value to the labor producing them. American labor then fought the revolution, that profits be forever after throughout its generations the capital of itself, to

make it a free industry, for all its own co-operative uses and gains. American industry, of the revolutionary age, would not be confined to a market, whose demand for its own products was destroyed by political restrictions—a condition to which the present ruling party policy controlling Federal relations compels it to now submit.

American labor, being protected from paying its profits as foreign tribute, that would lessen the value of the wealth it produced to it, and limit its acquisition of co-operative capital by restricting its freedom in use for greater acquisition, through the fundamental law of the revolution; shall it not be protected from every charge on its wealth at home, in the nature of bounties to American landlord monopolies for use of their freeholds to obtain American necessary raw materials, for production of American labor's own capital, to use for its own co-operation, to thereby enable it to have manufactures for its exports, instead of raw materials that are a home drug. These resources are exclusively American labor's own natural monopolies. They are, however, in violation of American labor's State rights, held as imperial, Federal monopolies, restricting the common rights of property, and their free use by American labor. This monopoly denies American labor its political rights to use its own sources of wealth. Shall this labor therefore demand, by its vote, that it be reinstated and protected in its original rights to the free trade or use of its own sources of wealth, to obtain from them the necessary means or materials for its profitable employment—by the policy of removing tariff and all other monopoly restrictions on American free trade in foreign raw materials, to thereby suppress all American monopolies? or;

shall it submit to loss of its liberties, by a venal vote paired off against its own?

For American labor, to secure its own capital—and relieve itself from the charge of interest for the use of credit for currency, obtained from Federal monopolies—to cheapen the cost, and thereby produce manufactures and ships for its own foreign commerce, it is necessary that it be protected from charges for support of American landlord monopolies, who will spend this wealth in Europe. It must organize and vote to remove the fundamental cause, that is, tariff restrictions from free use of foreign raw materials. This will protect American labor from being shut out of its foreign free trade in profitable products; by monopolists who do not want American labor to be independent and have free trade, but only that the law shall compel it to support an income class by bounties charged in prices on all its necessities, letting imported necessities be provided by a foreign commerce, no matter how poor this leaves American labor.

This political policy of American free trade in raw materials without any exception, to thereby enable its labor to secure the profits of foreign commerce, and independent wealth to itself, is a necessity, since all restrictions by charges, in the nature of penalties forced out of this labor, has only resulted in its losing its wealth, getting into debt, to be forever employed by monopolies at the poor wages of bare subsistence, using their credit for its currency, on perpetual interest.

The fact that imported raw material must pay foreign freight, insurance and exchange, is enough protection of American natural monopolies, since American society

charged nothing for them, if the capital of their improvements is made also free from all charges in the nature of penalties on its cost.

American laborers, or manufacturers of wealth, who have no natural resources from which to obtain raw materials necessary for their own self-employment, and to thereby employ operatives as co-laborers, are those to require the absolute protection of their own free trade, to thereby acquire what they do not possess, but need, to secure the requisite national wealth in hands of industry. This is to protect all American labor equally, none being subject to charges for bounties to monopolies of American sources of wealth—to those whom American society has given exclusive right of natural resources to labor with and produce wealth from, for their own use. This tenure must not have protection of the law in asking more than another is willing to take with free foreign competition.

Free raw materials are necessary, if they are required to produce equally good wages for American labor not possessed of its own sources of wealth, as those who do possess the natural monopoly to portions of American resources. This is a Federal right of all American labor, to preserve its equality, and not require more toil of one citizen than another to possess the same wealth, putting every family on a political equality. This free trade is necessary to protect labor's equality politically. One American citizen shall have as much right as another to use the means to provide by labor the needs of his family. One family is as good as another in the eyes of the American law, unless that law gets a black eye, in being violated by a political sectional policy. The American

laborer who by his own free trade acquires raw materials, is not obliged to pay royalties for support of an American landlord income aristocracy, under American institutions. He therefore can produce as much wealth as the laborer who produces them from his freehold of American natural monopolies.

There are, by American institutions, no entailments on the natural resources of any part of the globe—since the emancipation from British rule and of American slaves—to which American industry must pay the least tribute for the privilege of holding all the wealth it can produce. After that wealth is produced there are by the law of American protection, no charges to come out of that wealth in form of enhanced cost of subsistence, to support income classes. American labor has right of free trade to protect itself from these charges, yet it actually pays them.

The law of its free trade is infringed. This infringement has forced American labor to take such poor wages that it is servile and poor. It does not draw a breath of free air. If it gets a poor income from any bonded capital it possesses, through parsimony, this income is obliged to pay for the subsistence of the owner more than will be due American labor for producing it. The difference goes to income aristocracy. There is therefore no free wealth belonging to American citizens in the American empire. All the national wealth is bonded to these charges of perpetual debt or enhanced cost of living. It only escapes this bondage by resting abroad, its owners loaning credit to impoverished American industry, to draw interest for its use, to be spent in Europe.

Pennsylvania land monopolists, for an example, have no right to charge bounties on the wealth that the labor of New York produces, because it prevents this labor accumulating the wealth the Federal relation provides it shall be free to have. It could make no profits for itself unless it had free use of these sources of wealth, or some others that were good substitutes. The people of New York represented in the Federal relation as a State never consented to have the Federal power exercised to debar this right. This is no free inter-State trade. Who does not recognize equal right of the labor of New York, debars a political right of the labor of New York and Pennsylvania to co-operate for mutual profit. The representatives of New York labor and the venal vote combined, in the Federal relation have sold those Federal liberties of free trade belonging to her labor for spoils of Federal office. This barter has provided Federal honors for distinguished citizens of New York, as the price of this political status established by the government of the Federal relations at Washington, without proper regard for the rights of New York labor, which was to be free to co-operate with the labor of Pennsylvania. It was not to be compelled to pay bounties for raw materials to any Pennsylvania landlord aristocracy which imported contract and servile labor to provide those raw materials.

The political protection of American labor in the natural rights of acquiring all the profits of the wealth it produces is, under American institutions, secured by permitting individual and corporate tenure of natural resources, without binding their possessors with any restrictions in their use as homes, farms, mines, quarries,

manufactories, railroads, canals, cities, harbors, &c. London as contrasted with New York pays ground rentals to lordships. Her wealth is worth less, hence it seeks foreign landed properties to draw income from. It was intended that there should be a more free, unrestricted-by-society production of wealth, of American raw materials, so that there would be an abundance of employment for American labor to produce wealth in new forms therefrom. This free trade principle protects the accumulation of unlimited wealth in the hands of American labor, and adds no taxation with increase of wealth.

The land was not to be held by monopoly landlord rights, which would thereby compel American labor to receive only poor wages and always be poor, limiting its opportunities to produce wealth for itself by limiting supply of raw material. This tenant from the government, by this control, could compel American labor, if tariff restrictions made a monopoly of his resources, to work all the harder and get less, the support of the landlord keeping him poor. The more American labor can be oppressed by these conditions, the more wealth accrues to the landlord—the less to American labor.

The Federal relation invites immigration only of blood relationship, which is imbued with the Christian principles of liberty, of capabilities for co-operation, of accumulation for more than its present needs.

American political principles require that its labor shall be capable of self-government, to be able to perpetuate its liberties and own the national wealth, by a proper performance of its voting duties.

It is not intended that the immigration, which is an

alien, anti-Christian, unaffiliating, dependent, servile, anti-co-operative industry, shall enjoy the privileges of American citizenship, without a performance of co-operative industry, it seeking wealth only to expatriate it, in opposition to American institutions; its religious creed teaching it to serve superstitions, and thereby develop ignorance, from debasing practices, which renders it incapable of self-government, and forbids it to obey the law of co-operation, which American institutions alone recognize.

There is a modern instance justifying these conclusions. It will be impossible for politically free American industry to live in contact with Mongolian labor, which voluntarily retains its servile conditions, and refuses to educate itself and accept political freedom. It only serves monopoly. The religious practices of the latter make it too servile, even within the protection of free institutions. It cares nothing for them. Its religious superstition teaches not to accept free labor rights. It is inexorably inert. It acquires no power to elevate itself, but becomes a servant to vice. It is undeveloped, unchanged through generations. It does not recognize the natural conditions of the family relation. It is subject to monopolies only. It does not prize liberty. It only wishes to be left alone in its degradation.

American industry would have to devise and develop all the public and private improvements. It would have to make all the foreign exchanges necessary to its own elevation, getting no contribution or co-operation from Mongolian industry, only its dead weight. Mongolian labor would only avail itself of these privileges to ab-

sorb wealth for building up Asiatic from depletion of American accumulations.

There is no mutuality, hence there can be no co-operation or compromise. The removal of Mongolian is an absolute necessity to freedom of American industry, and self-protection of its own capital from hostile depredation. Mongolian industry is a moral leprosy with no cure. The fact of its existence on American soil is evidence of the servile political conditions of American labor. Monopoly interests alone retain it. It could not compete with free labor. It must reform and co-operate with it, or become extinct.

Under American institutions, no part of American industry was to be classified by political and social strata, nor be unprovided, poor or oppressed, because not possessing land. It was not to live subject to penalties on its existence from any political conditions, in this land flowing with sources of wealth.

There was no fear among our forefathers but that the production of raw materials would exist, and would provide employment enough to produce competent wealth to American industry by the use of them, if they were to be made politically free, by not empowering the holders to overcharge for them.

Both the laboring land holder and the laborer or manufacturer without its possession were then to be protected in having gold coin to be legal tender, as the invariable unit of measure of the values of all products, as a right, to preserve to it the value of wealth to labor.

The free use or trade in silver as lawful Federal money, the use designed for it, without being a unit of measure however, its proper office, is also destroyed.

The policies of restrictions on the free trade of American labor have been planned to establish an income aristocracy of commercial wealth at cost of American industry. There is established a condition like the Whig aristocracy of Great Britain, which was done by the establishment of legal tender currency of the Bank of England, the great issuer and contractor at its own will of the supply of money currency, the great British variable standard of measure of value of all products that are subject to British foreign commerce.

The promoters of the Cobden Club free trade principles compose this British Whig aristocracy of wealth. They advocate their particular system of free trade in American markets, for products owned by British monopolies. The bait, to rob American labor of its wealth as a substitute for the way the policy of the party in power is doing it, is the less cost of manufactures to American consumers than their present enhanced cost. These are made by British servile labor, and cost monopolies only the subsistence of that labor. The conditions of such free trade are that American labor shall not manufacture its own raw materials.

American labor wants no free trade with Great Britain, or any other country whose government refuses protection of its own labor in having the profits it produces. This protection of foreign labor in retaining the wealth it produces would protect American labor in securing good wages by mutual free trade, because foreign industry, owning the capital it produces, would be wealthy enough to give in exchange as good as it received, thereby co-operating with American labor in its energies to secure wealth. The whole object of tariff

restrictions should only be protective of securing wealth to American labor of all kinds, including the farmer, miner, manufacturer, merchant and common carrier alike.

The only way for States to be protected on an equality under the Federal relation as to the rights of their industry, is to exercise the power of tariff restrictions on imported manufactures made by servile labor. This will give American labor the protection it must have to retain its own co-operative benefits—both the labor that is in exclusive possession of American sources for producing manufactures, and that which must acquire raw materials by free trade wherewith to manufacture, if American landlords demand monopoly prices.

This will give all grades of American industry profitable employment. It will destroy all monopolies that would restrict the ownership of profits or capital by American labor for its own co-operative gain, to have it for use to cheapen the cost of its products.

Looking for precedents—since monopoly advocates, in congressional speeches, cite only bad ones, established by fraud and trespass on the rights of American labor—it may be pertinently asked whether or not were American land holders in such a majority as Federal representatives, for establishment of American institutions, as to be able to dictate the political powers of landholders, the rights of American labor, and terms of immigration? Could they not decide whether American labor should be free or servile? Whether or not it should be subject to a political status, like its previous condition in Europe, that of dependency for employment at only wages of bare subsistence upon monopoly of natural resources or other monopolies, as a tenantry class? Did not these

land-holding Federal representatives choose to have labor's domicile in America, if without voluntary tenure of natural resources, free to secure other means for producing its own wealth—that of importing raw materials free ?

Were not all to be equally protected in a monopoly of the home market for manufactures made by American labor ? Were there any restrictions that would debar from producing free American homes ? Was not free raw materials made the sources of free American labor's wealth ? Was not labor to be the foundation of American wealth ?

Was not the actual cost for obtaining private possession of natural resources made so low as to cause it to cover only the expense of the survey, evidence of title, defense against Indians, public improvements, &c. ? Was not the cost of raw materials to be enough only to furnish natural profits for use of the improvements and the labor using them to produce raw materials therefrom ?

Was it ever intended that a combination of possessions of ore and coal beds with timber tracts should, after costing a certain sum for improvements, including private approaches, be capitalized on the basis of royal landlord estates, rendering income for generations to come, for a great many profits on the cost of these improvements, making the price of raw materials therefrom to be enough more than the natural value of good wages to prevent the use of American ships and manufactures for American foreign commerce ?

Were not Clinton, Lansing and other representatives of the State of New York afraid to trust the competency

of the people for self-government, like the democracy of Athens, lest they would ignorantly or dishonestly neglect to conform to any constitution that might be made under the Federal relation for the protection of the natural rights and free trade in use of the natural monopolies pertaining to the different States' industries? Were they not afraid that private local interests would be powerful enough to convert the Federal government into an irresponsible imperial power over the labor of the States, to thereby prevent State liberty of free trade and shut off the foreign trade of New York?

Have not the fears of these representatives been justified? Has not the liberties of free trade belonging to the industry of New York been restricted? Has not the accumulation of wealth been less on account of her industry getting poorer profits under the restrictions put over New York by Federal power to subserve private interests? Has not her wealth been less under the Federal relation without having free trade rights, than it would have been?

Were these patriots not afraid of infringement on the original rights belonging to the States, of free trade to obtain raw materials, and that this would prevent the industry of New York having its most profitable employment—its foreign commerce?

Has not the policy of the party in power forced the Federal relation to violate its own contract of protection, in that it has deprived not only New York but every other State of the right to protect State industries in securing the profits of their labor to develop their own manufactures with; by restricting free use of natural sources of wealth? Has not this been done in order to

protect private interests or monopolies that are alien to the co-operative principles affirmed by the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States of America, and Washington's farewell address?

Does not the national compact or treaty of unlimited free trade by the independent industries of the several States between themselves, and by each one for itself abroad, require the duty of protection of this free trade by the government of the Federal relation, to thereby extend co-operative American foreign commerce in the manufactures of American industry, for direct, natural, suitable foreign products of subsistence, as well as raw materials, and to intertrade with neutral nations and States? Was it intended that such free trade should ever be fettered? Was not tariff restrictions designed to protect American free trade, by restricting the foreign?

Such restrictions on American rights of labor make a Federal tariff to be, not for incidental protection of this labor, with its penalties to come out of income wealth for the fiscal revenue only. They are made for the sole, imperial party policy of taxing the wealth of American labor in penalties to be taken out of their profits, by being charged on their necessities, to thereby obtain the fiscal revenue. This political condition denies the right of labor to be free from taxation without consent or equivalent. It makes it to be only the servile subject of taxation to support a power whose life is drawn from robbing American labor of its capital.

Such restrictions on American free trade are only a protection of American landlord monopoly power over American labor. The tariff collects all the revenue out of labor only. It is in principle like the British system

of restrictions on the efforts of industry to acquire wealth by labor. It is a taxation on the necessities of the workingmen, lest they become extravagant and dissatisfied with their present political status.

Such restrictions on American free trade, force to an abnormally large export of unprofitable wealth of silver, copper, wheat, cotton, hops, &c., all of which are taxed in cost of production, only to benefit American landlord monopolies, the enhanced cost of living thereby alone preventing American manufacture.

Tariff restrictions on free trade in American wealth always entail on American labor a deprivation of the profits, a concentration of the wealth American labor produces, into the power of monopolies, coupled with a perpetual debt of principle, involving penalties of usury, owing by American labor, to thereby establish a political condition of a degraded, rather than a free, enlightened American industry; always also entail an income class, as an imperial power over American personal liberty—without any equivalent therefor.

These result in an un-Christian, helpless, degraded, toiling class, with only oppressive circumstances attending this violation of the contract, constitution and law of the Federal relation.

The party in power has always been full of imperial tendencies, in that it has established monopolies of credit, to be the only currency of exchange within reach of American labor. Credit for currency is very good, but a monopoly of it is very bad. Its purpose is to establish commerce into a monopoly, engaged in scalping profits out of American labor as fast as they are produced, leaving it only a bare subsistence. This credit

for currency supplants the use of legal tender as the unit of values of all other wealth, making gold to be a commercial commodity only, of variable market value, not subject to the law of supply and demand.

There may be a condition of using bank notes or bills of exchange as a circulation of credit to facilitate exchange. To be a public good, these must be unrestricted in issue; not a monopoly and thereby a power to drive out the standard of gold for determining values—the baser driving the better currency out of circulation.

There could not, however, be a monopoly of credit floated for currency under the protection of free trade, co-operative industry, because this industry would use its own greenbacks for currency until it became able to retire them. Being therefore rich, there would be no complaint of scarcity of money. Any scarcity of money with American labor arises from being debarred free trade to get full value for its products and thereby keep out of debt.

There is one difference between British and American industries. The former supports a limited class of aristocracy at home. American industry supports one at home and one abroad.

Although both American and British labors are in a servile condition, getting only bare subsistence, yet American wealth is more heavily charged in bounties and penalties, and thereby there is a constant transference of it to Europe.

Governments cannot bestow a particular paternal protection, that is not a monopoly that taxes its own labor's wealth, thereby protecting neutral markets for the benefit of foreign commerce. It operates to keep industry too poor to have any foreign commerce.

The governments of the American States, and that over Ireland, for example, are both subject to landlord monopolies, but by different methods. The industry of neither has any foreign exchange, to speak of.

It may be asked then, why Great Britain has any foreign commerce, since she also has only a servile industry and protects only landlord monopolies.

The aggregate of bounties and penalties are less than in America because imported raw materials are free, and those from her own lordships get less bounties than those in America. Less than in Ireland, because landlord entailments are not so servile a tax on labor. The freeholds of the North of Ireland save it enough from bounty taxation to have a foreign commerce in manufactures from the materials digenious to the vicinity. There is no fear of competition from American foreign commerce, since the present tariff restrictions cause the landlord tax to be heavier than in Great Britain and Ireland.

In the United States, Canada, Mexico and other American States, Asia and Africa, monopolies are rulers. Of course the industries of all these countries are servile, consequently they have no foreign commerce, being in debt to foreign interests, delivering their profits, as fast as made, to monopolies. They have no capital with which to manufacture or carry on a foreign commerce. The industries of these countries of course get only subsistence for their labor, and therefore are universally poor. If any of them have possession of wealth, the charges on it are so heavy that they have no control of it to co-operate with their labor, to so cheapen production as to be able to export.

The only real protection is that which will injure no one, by its protection of all alike, and that must be from all charges that render no return of profits to labor—protection from all restrictions on its free trade—from all except mutual conditions, to get profits or wealth.

Taking the duty from wool, tin or any other products, leaving it on other raw materials that protect American landlord monopolies of any kind, is no protection of the producers of wool, tin or of any other American labor. The existing monopolies get all the profits or capital of American production. So long as any exist, these will be dictator, and American industry will be compelled to work for bare subsistence.

The changed condition will make the cost of living cheaper, and will give more employment and more manufactures will be exported, but at enough lower prices to offset the cheaper cost of living. The prices or value of silver, copper, iron, lead, wheat, cotton, wool, &c., will go down, but the profits from bounties on iron, coal, lumber, &c., will be all the tariff restrictions provide—enough to absorb the profits of American labor. Immigration will only increase without profit to American labor. Its condition will be only worse as population increases. It will never get out of a perpetual condition of debt. The enhanced cost of living will absorb all its profits.

It will never do for American labor to permit political majorities by conceding monopolies to some sections. The whole tariff on coal, ore, lumber, grain, hops, vegetables, &c., must be abated. Relief from present bondage is, to make all American natural resources free to compete with the world, in selling raw materials to American labor.

There must be no monopolies of American natural resources, either owned at home, or as is too much the case, by aliens to thereby tax American labor out of its profits. There then being no charges on wealth, thereby absorbing its profits, savings or capital for royalties, labor will then become well off, and living at home will be cheap. There will be a better demand for American wealth. American raw materials as a form of capital will then be co-operative. The owners of land tenures will get more wealth, than their bounty priced raw materials would come to, rather than permit foreign raw materials to supplant their use. The same area of landlord resource will be worth more in national wealth as an aggregate whether in America or Ireland, for example.

With the protection of American labor—in its political rights to the wealth it produces, as the Federal relation provides it shall have, it will wrest the foreign commerce of the world in neutral markets, presuming competition will continue with only the products of servile labor.

American labor has its guaranteed rights—to a home market for its products—destroyed to suit the gain of private interest only. Its wheat, cotton, meat, hops, barley, cheese, &c., are exported as raw materials, instead of American labor being permitted to find occupation making them into manufactures for its own profit. By forcing one class of labor to export its raw materials, because its natural home market is destroyed, bounties are secured to landlord monopolies and poor wages to American labor of all classes. To export American manufactures would be, to bring profits beyond subsistence to American industry but no bounties to landlord monopolies. American labor is denied its political rights

to make such products as would keep it out of all foreign debt, by getting more wealth for less labor at home, with which to pay foreign exchanges. It would produce more at home and buy less abroad, except as its increased wealth enabled it to profit by foreign exchange.

How then can American free labor get good wages out of its manufactures competing for foreign trade in neutral markets, if British products are made at lower wages?

In the first place, if American labor had free trade from bounties for its products, raw materials would be used at home, except a few natural export exchanges. The absence of these that only glut British markets, would compel British monopoly to pay more for the smaller supply in its market, making its manufactures to cost more. America could dictate the price of American surplus exports like cotton.

In the second place, British labor must be supported, although in poverty, and its aristocracy in affluence. American labor will have both these provisions for itself, making it a free, rich industry, yet underselling British monopoly at least for its own foreign exchanges. This also makes the aggregate of wealth to be greater to the nation having free labor, because the producers are in greater ratio to consumers.

The foreign commerce having to pay the least penalties without profit, will have the inside track in a race free for all for trade among neutral nations. In this case American labor will get the prize, if it will only dispense with the inert weight of monopoly.

American labor must now cease production of manufactures for export.

It must overcrowd the labor market, causing two restricted laborers to run after one restricted employer, competing at underbid wages against themselves for the chance to produce raw materials, with no natural—but a low priced—demand abroad; exhausting American sources of wealth, not only having no profits to show for it, but a foreign debt.

If American industrial society had an opportunity to migrate in a body, it could not find a purchaser for all the national wealth for which it is bonded as trustee, including lighthouses, harbors, cities, railroads, farms, mines, manufactories, &c., with the liens on them for all the obligations it has assumed, coupled with its present conditions to produce wealth, for any price whatever. The reason it might bring something is, that the land of the globe is held as a monopoly, and would be bought to give employment at poor, rather than have no wealth. A free industry would prefer free natural resources without any wealth at all, as the Boers began in South Africa. Every dollar then earned would have full value to labor. American wealth has no value to its labor. Monopolies have all the profit there is in it. In other words, the present national wealth is not worth having as a gift, under its present control. The industry buying it would remain poor earning interest to pay its debts, before earning its living.

The educated and developed American skilled laborer or manufacturer, who would merge his labor with the co-operative use of silver, copper, lead, iron, wheat, wool, hemp, tobacco, barley, hops, cotton, cheese, &c., is denied a foreign free trade market for his manufactures, including railroad equipment, because tariff pro-

tected monopolies demand that he shall charge the bounties they receive, on foreign consumers as his recoupment for the wrongs done by the oppressions on his labor by his own government for monopoly's gain. He would be glad to make these forms of co-operative capital into manufactures, and thereby make a free trade home market for wheat, cotton, silver, &c., but cannot charge bounties on foreign consumers, therefore must have poor wages or profits, supplying a limited home market to impoverished labor, that is employed only part of the time, at low wages. He must work for bare subsistence or perish. He must yield up all his profits, without even a "ticket of leave" from this bondage of perpetual debt. His bondage is for life, and this is all the heritage he grants his children. Monopolies shall be protected in holding the ore, coal, lumber and other raw materials he must have, therefore he cannot make ships and manufactures for foreign commerce.

Sometimes the plethoric monopolist gives a public library, plant for school of manual training or other benefaction. This is highly commendable, but the law interferes, however, and requires American labor to toil, until it is too degraded to profit by such benefactions, producing the wealth from which they come. What good is intelligence and knowledge to American labor, if its political lot is to live under servile, dependent conditions? Why did our forefathers leave Europe? Monopoly only gets the benefits of the technical schools. Monopolists are not to blame. It is American labor for permitting such things to be done, by not performing its duty in the free use of its vote. It must never surrender it to monopolies to be paired off with the venal vote.

American labor has, however, empowered the present political majority to make a contract of foreign exchange, guaranteed by the Federal government's pledge of the wealth of the nation, whereby it agrees to stay at home, and work to support an aristocracy of monopolies, and have no free trade manufactures of its own production, because of not having any co-operative free trade capital. It humbly lets monopolies have all and is told by their lackeys, that this is keeping up public credits.

American labor, by its vote says that monopolies may have all its profits, and spend them in Europe, it being content with the political privilege of a poor subsistence, its family provision being left to go to waste. Such a Christian estate is too high for American labor to presume to attain. Monopoly would have it to herd like dumb brutes.

American labor must not have any foreign exchange of its own, because this would cause monopolies to suffer what the party in power causes it to suffer for the sake of monopoly rule ; until paralyzed with its suffering, it in its despair almost believes its condition is natural, and Creative law not all beneficence, when in fact by its vote it shows that "man is only vile."

British commercial monopolies—scalping values out of the products that the present political policy has driven into this foreign power, to thereby establish Cobden Club principles of free trade, founded only on servile labor conditions—can undersell the American laborer or manufacturer, who is loaded down with charges, in order to keep this condition of servility as a perpetual condition, and his industry be always a dependent, helpless infant.

He is not permitted to air himself in foreign climes, where he could pay his expenses in selling his manufactures for tea, coffee, hides, &c. He must tread in the same mill, imported from Europe, that his ancestry tread in, until by the war of the American Revolution they released themselves from all political obligation to submit any more to such bondage, having sent all tread-mills of human toil back to Europe, only to be restored by the policy elected to rule over American labor.

Expatriated products, that have cost American blood, sweat and toil, consisting partly of metals, grain, cotton, &c., buy more tea, coffee, &c., for American labor, if it puts them at a low valuation in the hands of foreign monopolies, than if they are converted into American manufactures by domesticated monopolies—that is, so far as American labor gets any profit by its toil. Why does not American labor vote to protect the profits it makes in its own hands, as its own capital to co-operate thereby in making its own manufactures, and have nothing to do with monopolies either naturalized or foreign? Why does it vote to protect monopolies by permitting them to absorb all of its profits? Is a paid-for Presidential hoorah and frolic a sufficient compensation? Has American labor any right to thus sacrifice its heritage of liberty, that it only holds in trust for posterity? Monopolies have taught American labor to laugh at the idea of considering such things.

If American laborers or manufacturers were free from any monopoly-bounties, they would buy more tea, coffee, rubber, hides, tropical fruits, &c., for American consumers, than the product of the same labor of European manufacture from American raw materials. Less hours

of American labor, would produce the American manufactures, that would buy the same amount of tea, coffee, &c.

The dog-in-the-manger holder, of American resources of raw materials, can charge, not the foreigner, but his fellow citizen's, sweat and blood—his wealth—in bounties, for the privilege of having his very necessities, that could otherwise be imported to give independent employment. These bounties must be produced, at the sacrifice of the liberties guaranteed by American institutions, to support the modern American human oppressor, who but holds the Federal wand of power, and says how much American labor shall have for its toil, how much wealth this oppressor shall spend in Europe.

This wand laid on the backs of American labor in the form of tariff restrictions on raw materials, causes American labor to pay custom penalties, only to debar purchases, except to pay the Federal revenue and let these monopolies as mere consumers and non-producers, escape it, and they spend their income in Europe. After securing enough surplus to keep the credit of the government sound in the minds of government bondholders, all further American consumption, comprising the necessities of American consumers must pay bounties to these naturalized American monopolies.

All this perversion, of the purpose of American institutions, is only intended to deprive American labor of its wealth without value received.

To secure this advantage to the monopolies of American natural resources, there is involved a very large loss of production of American manufactures for export that are natural foreign exchanges—that would increase the

profits or capital of American labor, and have its estate one of elevation, peace and plenty—not one of poverty, degradation, suffering and vice.

American labor could then exchange its own manufactures for its necessary tea, coffee, hides, rubber, coal, ore, lumber, &c., cheaper than now is done; causing thereby every farm, mine, manufactory, railroad, city, harbor, lighthouse and dock to be produced for less labor or cost, yet be more profitable co-operative capital for American labor to possess, being protected from all bondage for charges to support do-nothing ruling classes, as American institutions provide. It is not improbable that American labor being employed earning profits, instead of working for bare subsistence, would double the national wealth annually with no more labor.

The present census will only show the wealth American citizenship holds in trust—bonded for debt. It will note its volume, as in Presidential canvasses, but not its distribution by being bonded with liens; on its railroads principally.

Railroads are designed to be used only for the public good, not for the perpetual taxation of the wealth of the American people, by extra cost of carrying charges, to thus support an alien income aristocracy.

Nothing will be done, in the coming Federal census report, to show up for the education of American labor, how it has come about, that Central New York laborers who made the improvements of canals, railroads, farms, manufactories, cities, harbors, &c., before the late civil war, were well-to-do, and even wealthy, owning manufacturing and railroad stocks, getting co-operative income therefrom. Now they are poor. Monopolies hold

liens on all the wealth of New York, as on that of other States or commonwealths. Such a comprehensive census would destroy the subtle power of monopolies for indirect taxation of American labor for private uses.

It results that only a few dispensibles or luxuries are imported to compete with a large production of home manufactures, which are forced up to duty line in prices, and not produced any more than the necessities of American citizenship will compel it to consume at bounty prices.

The original plan of federation's ideal of protection aimed to protect consumers from all unnecessary cost of living, to make America a haven of earthly rest. The present system is to protect income classes abroad from all taxation, and to make labor's taxation absorb all its profits. It is essentially British in principle in its old form, before the "corn laws" were passed, and since then also. It only protects landlord monopolies.

A few imports compared with the volume of home manufactures are paraded in Presidential campaigns, as showing the great employment and prosperity of American labor. It is not paraded that American labor gets no profit or protection—only taxation, as the reward for its toil.

The monopolies of natural resources, paying the poorest of contract-labor wages required to produce raw materials, get profits without equivalent and American labor alone pays these profits out of the wealth it produces, and would have to preserve the freedom of the Christian family relation, but for the policy of making raw materials a monopoly.

Monopoly aristocracy that spends income abroad,

becomes richer only, by the operation, but the aggregate of American wealth, distributed to American labor, is immeasurably less—none at all, only as it is held in trust, bonded to pay the profits of its use to support income classes.

The causes of non-production and non-consumption are the same in America as in Ireland. Land entailments with power to exact high rents. As American natural resources are becoming more and more absorbed, the condition is pinching harder in its infringement on the rights of American labor.

Another inevitable result is, that the higher the penalties on raw materials, the more rapid is the increase, and the greater the volume of debt contracted abroad, on which only American labor earns interest. This is all secured by liens on American natural monopolies and American capital represented by improvements thereon. This is the result of an export of raw materials, to pay for imports. It makes the cost of foreign exchanges to American industry to be greater, the value of its products wherewith to pay to be less.

The policy in power is the great supporter of Cobden Club principles of free trade. All this could be arrested from the accumulations of British Cobden Club free-trade monopoly foreign commerce, and become national wealth as the capital of American labor. Cobden free trade commerce should not get American raw materials at below cost. They should be for the use of American labor to manufacture with.

It is the absolute loss of all American free trade foreign commerce, that is the sacrifice required, to secure American wealth in monopoly hands, rather than in the

hands of American labor that makes it. American labor must not own any capital, because the use could then earn profits for itself, making it independent of monopolies, and not oblige it to submit to the political restriction of two running after one job of producing surplus raw materials, because the government deprived labor of the other job—that of manufacturing, taking away all the national wealth from American labor, and giving it to monopolies, so that they can force it to work for bare subsistence.

Uncle Sam rides across his domain surrounded with a good deal of togger—carpets on the floors of his workingmen's tenement houses, poor sanitary improvements, poor roads, cities burdened with debt, &c., and no foreign commerce. Of course he has a heavy, careworn face, although to the outside world, which does not know how much he owes, judging from the abundance of natural resources with which he is possessed, more than he can cultivate, all paraded in the census reports, not even measured in detail, only by comparison with firmament, skinning his lands, mines and forests for poor wages, the minions who enslave him splurging in Europe, that he ought to be the happiest man on earth.

His position seems a paradise to poor outcast labor, denied the natural means of life, such as he possesses. He has, however, lost his pride in his American citizenship, with all its glorious record of heroic events; and is absorbed in thinking of how to fund his increasing foreign debt, by keeping up a brisk sale of railroad securities, and not commit an act of insolvency, that would lower the value of those he has yet for sale, and provide for debts crowding on him. He is bonded up to his

ears, and has a ringing sensation therein, as he is taking water at the mouth. He is increasing his liens as fast as new territories are opened up of approved value for security, so long as his tenantry—American labor—can pay the perpetual debt of penalties or usury for the use of the wealth himself has produced, wrongfully taken, and shout in Presidential election times the greatness of American institutions between breathing spells when he is panting from overwork rushing forward his raw materials to Europe.

He is right, to praise those principles of comity between nations, as exemplified in the Federal relation of sovereign States or nations, also American land tenure without political entailments; and the sources of power being home-rule, or in the States, not emanating from Washington.

As yet only dotting the outlines of his magnificent heritage with wealth, has enabled plucky Uncle Sam to keep his head above water, weighted down as he is by tariff restriction penalties, charged on the production of his wealth, also bounty prices for raw materials from his own natural resources, to those he has permitted possession—however, not for the purpose of abridging the natural use of them, but to encourage investment of capital in improvements for more economical production of raw materials.

He is therefore too poor in the possession of free trade capital to have profits for his labor by its co-operation, to thereby get out of foreign and domestic debt by a free exchange of manufactures for his debt contracts, rather than balance with the sum of crude exports and railroad securities.

He is honored with the guardianship of his great possessions, located on boundless natural monopolies, all, however, bonded for all they are worth. He is apparently satisfied with the possession of them as toggery. This pastime for the present appears to be enough to satisfy his ambition.

His sons, who should be marketing his products all over the world for him, instead of employing a foreign commerce to do it, to secure him the profits, instead of Cobden club monopolies the party in power are giving them to, are growing up on every farm and in every city without profitable employment, only suffering drudgery or rusting at home, for want of free, instead of servile occupation. The only conditions of his sons' employment are, that they will produce by their toil, of their first fruits, a sacrifice of penalties to support an income aristocracy at home, also one in Europe, leaving only subsistence, but no wealth for themselves—hence when American girls have a chance that is eligible in Europe, they marry there as a better condition. What record of gallantry compels American energy to make such an exhibition of itself.

Uncle Sam has got to be a good deal of a blather-skite of late. His attempt to produce wheat, cotton, wool, silver, copper, iron, &c., at present cost tariff restrictions impose, is a dismal failure. His debts only increase. For his surplus, of crude products, he must find a market, to pay debts of foreign exchange, where he is not recompensed for the bounties he has been obliged to pay to those he permitted to occupy his lands, before producing them. He must take his raw materials—to pay for his tea, coffee, &c., and submit to

unequal-value exchange. He must either go on short rations or give a lien, paying a perpetual debt of usury, and thus balance his account of foreign exchange, that perpetually runs against him. He each year keeps increasing this debt for as large an amount as he can give security on new development of his vast domain and improvements. He must sell all his products too low to get any profits or capital to apply on debt. He therefore must mortgage his improvement to keep afloat, and live a subservient life, or else he must sell his rights of possession and lead a purely dependent, tenantry human existence.

Uncle Sam followed the industry of war for seven long, discouraging years of the revolution, because his wealth was likely to be impaired by British imperial taxation as a license on its production. He was not to be permitted to exchange his products of any kind, for others representing even a pound of tea, without there was to be a charge on his wealth. Some class in Europe was to live on the fruits of his labor, without work; in imperial magnificence by oppressing him, who had fled from Europe and oppression combined. He had expatriated himself, still glowing with love of home and all its dear surroundings, for the one principle of the right of free trade for the products of his labor, to secure the profits he had earned, as his own wealth.

Uncle Sam, in the days of his youth and enterprise, won the victorious acknowledgment of Great Britain, that he was honorably entitled to be free from all such claims, by the right of revolution his valor established.

His inheritor—the present generation—however, does not appear to know how to keep the grandest estate on

earth free from debt, nor how to make his work profitable. His natural monopolies, of world-wide value and his improvements are not free-trade acquisitions, to suit his own convenience, but that of his creditor, who by the agency of the party in power, is enabled to live abroad.

All is subject to entailments. If he produces any surplus raw materials, he must consult his creditor, who sells or finds a market for them to suit his own profit. His oppressor demands penalties on every exchange, so he makes only those that poverty can. He possesses the use only of taxed or borrowed capital, bonded for perpetual debt of usury. He does not have the benefit of the political rights his father established. Instead of ruling his own destinies, to have them in harmony with the law of Creative power, which dispenses only beneficence, peace and good will to society that observes that law, he does not defend, but permits, himself to be ruled over by a false god, the golden calf that himself has imported—monopoly. He is permitting a political policy of oppression and repression on his domain, the costs charged up against his wealth, that is the cause of his debt. It makes him look on with a lean, languid, jaundiced face, and see foreign free trade with great profits made on his raw materials, taken out of his sources of wealth, by the degraded tenantry he imports, which would be worth much more at home to manufacture into higher value exports. Uncle Sam does not appear to know how to take advantage of his circumstances. He lacks energy, and lets himself be ruled over and kicked about. A venal vote is employed to knock him down and kick him for falling. He has not preserved his liberties, consequently is in debt, and the profits of all his

labor are used to support income aristocracies, while he is a poor, poverty-stricken, degraded toiler.

He has thereby gotten into so much debt at home and abroad, that he has no profits or capital to organize his industry into co-operation for producing ships and manufactures, to with these buy his necessary foreign exchanges of tea, coffee, hides, rubber, &c., and thereby make the profits Providentially designed by the possession of his grand heritage, and pay up his foreign debts, and secure wealth from trade of neutral nations. This would enable him hereafter not only to keep out of debt, but have wealth to loan, and revive the life of American foreign commerce, selling his products, including railroad equipment, in South America, Asia and Africa, instead of Europe doing it, and get wealth, free from debt, and thereby control his commerce with those nations by prices of carrying charges.

With a restoration of the rights of American labor, the spirit of American liberty would revive. Perhaps the honest good nature of Uncle Sam has been too much imposed upon, and he will realize the fact that monopoly money is buying up too much of the venal vote, of his tenantry, to secure electoral majorities at Washington, pledged to bond his inheritance to support monopolies at home, also an income aristocracy in Europe.

The law should never make a monopoly of the sources of wealth. All men should be free to obtain the means of providing for their necessities, and not be compelled to be a charge on society for their maintenance, or else to work that others may reap the profits.

This would compel private or corporate tenures of land, to sell the raw materials taken therefrom at their

natural value. It would force them to be co-operative, by helping others to have profits also. They should have no other political rights than those of equality. They should be so situated politically, that all their interests are best served by co-operation only.

Possessors of freeholds from society, to be used for investment of capital in improvements that make farms, mines, manufactories, docks, railroads, cities, harbors, &c., should all stand alike. None should be overcharged by the other for use of their improvements. Each should be protected in procuring elsewhere in free trade, to make it the public or common interest for each to be co-operative with his fellow laborer, and so have no laborers that are not co-laborers—none to overcharge labor.

The protection of the landlord of the farm, mine, city lot, manufactory, quarry, dock, railroad, street railroad, telegraph, telephone, &c., &c., should be such, that he could buy all the wealth to be merged into his improvements in a free trade, not a monopoly, market.

There should be no bounty charges added, involving extra expenditure of capital.

Bounties only result in compelling every one who is to have any good wages to himself to be an under-producer, to recoup for these penalties from his fellow, by making products scarce. Hence capital combines for the protection of the value of capital that the government does not protect, but taxes for private interests. Hence labor unions to protect from producing more products than the market will absorb. All these are the result of a tariff made for revenue only, with its incidental protection of monopolies only. If there was

government protection of free trade for all American wealth, there would be no need of labor unions to prevent an overstock of any kind of products; no need of capital combines for the same purpose.

By a free trade in American raw materials, is not intended their exchange for foreign manufactures of servile labor. This is a Cobden Club principle of trade that would force American labor to toil only. It provides no Christian Sabbath or day of rest for its labor. This would not protect but only put down the value of the wealth that American labor produces, leaving its own best sources of wealth undeveloped. Free trade, however, in foreign servile labor raw materials, is necessary to break down home monopolies, because there cannot be an importation of the sources of wealth as there can be of labor. Since labor then has no natural protection against its own competition except by making all sources of wealth free, by means of unrestricted use of all raw materials of the world and thereby giving employment without competing, and paying premiums for limited supply raw materials and to thereby get employment; free foreign raw materials become a necessity under American institutions, to protect American labor from paying monopoly prices at home, to get raw materials for its employment; thereby abstracting the wealth that rightfully only belongs to it as its own capital, to enrich American landlord monopolies. Foreign raw materials would not then be imported in form of manufactures, nor for use in place of American raw materials, to manufacture in America. American producers of raw materials would then be willing to take the same value that other American labor receives for

its wealth. American landlords would then be co-operative producers of wealth for public uses.

It is very different in principle, to permit free trade in imported servile-labor manufactures. This would prevent American freeholds or landlordships, such as American institutions provide for, being profitable, so much of foreign raw materials would be in their composition. There is perfect freedom for that servile-labor to emigrate, be free and co-operative, using unlimited American raw materials, making American freeholds more profitable by their free than restricted use. With these free trade conditions for American products, free labor immigration would only improve the value of all the rest of American wealth to American labor, with its free trade rights thus protected. Also all American natural-monopoly interests, as was intended by American institutions. The present condition of taxed American productions causes the immigration of only servile labor to cut down the wealth of native labor shall receive as its reward, by competition, rather than co-operation. Monopoly is the only exchanger of labor's products under present political policy.

With the Federal-relation free trade thus protected, labor has only to perform its duty of being industrious, in order to prosper in all its temporal, social and religious development. It is too much to expect the oppressed laborer under his present political bondage to be anything but a degraded citizen. He knows partisan majorities do, in violation of his political rights, fail to protect the value to him of his wealth, but depreciate it, by empowering those who hold a monopoly of natural resources, to force him to overwork and toil, to get the

raw materials therefrom, those necessities his Christian estate of existence requires to be free. Tariff restrictions on raw materials and a corresponding one on manufactures give the market for free trade only to monopolies, but never to American labor. Monopolies thereby get the profit, but labor alone bears all the burdens and produces all the capital.

Is it surprising that labor abhors the monopoly supported and defended establishment of society styled Christian, in the way it sees these same natural resources created for its own Christian life, applied by law for temporal establishments, so as to effectually shut out their use by labor, on account of their cost, without protest in behalf of down-trodden humanity, yet they representing profits it has earned, and been forced to part with without recompense, so that it is poor, and the present temporal establishments for religious and other purposes are the result.

These are the outcome of an unnatural distribution of property by exercise of official power for oppression, causing labor to provide the support of a ruling income class that does not protect, but is a dead weight on the natural and Christian rights of labor. In America this is in violation of the trust embodied in the contract of the Federal relation, as well as of natural law as taught by Christian ethics.

If British and American labor were both free to use natural resources without bounty charges, a free trade would benefit both countries. Each industry would be able to co-operate and aid the other in acquiring natural provision in sufficiency for human life. As present political conditions exist, ruling over the rights of labor

of both these countries, the labor of Great Britain, being servile, is emigrating to America, evening up the distribution to suit mutual interests of monopoly power of both countries. That in Great Britain prefers emigration, to have the land for pasturage, game preserves and income residence, because the national wealth is made principally by foreign commerce, consisting of profits from the taxed labor's products of the world. That in America, prefers contract or servile labor immigration, because of immense opportunities for taxing profits out of American labor in the sale of monopolized raw materials, this servile labor produces so cheap.

An unusual case may happen for special protection. For example, if any foreign government gives a bounty of profits to its own products, that enables them to force a stoppage of production outside of its own jurisdiction, by supplanting it with these bounty-supported products. This depreciates the value of improvements of the landlord of a farm, harbor, city and manufactory of another nation. Such now are the beet sugar bounties of Europe, to crush out the production of cane sugar of the tropics. Subsidies for support of a French line of steamers to enable the Lyons silk manufacturers to sell their silks that are thus reduced in cost of production, in America and supplant American production of silk, forcing American producers of these products to be idle or produce raw materials for export only, for a poor living. Subsidies to the Pacific Mail Company, to slide in servile Chinese labor at cheap passage rates, to compete with American citizenship in order to carry the profits back to China, coal being at the same time a tariff protected monopoly. costing even as high as \$25.00.

per ton on the Pacific coast, effectually killing all Pacific Ocean steam commerce by American industry, preventing all development of capital on the Pacific coast, as the possession of American industry, forbidding labor there to possess any wealth, making peons of it, that a few may be monopolists.

There is also no protection against subsidies to Canadian railroads, that will enable them to supplement their products of transcontinental carrying charges, for the taxed-for-bounties carrying charges of American railroad production.

These are overt acts of devastation of American wealth, aimed at destruction of the free trade liberties, which alone are the subjects of Federal protection of American labor, to thereby secure the ownership of its profits.

If, however, the possessors of American resources are to be the paternal objects of protection, through tariff restrictions, in robbery by an anti-co-operative policy, and American labor be only the subject of taxation, then custom duties against those subsidized foreign productions, will raise the prices of American manufactures on American consumers, and put down the wages of American labor making them. It will force manufacturers to impoverish their operatives or co-laborers, in order to get enough for American landlord bounties. This political status will at the same time put down the value of these manufactures, because of having only a limited home market, supplying only servile labor that receives poor wages. Paternally protected American landlord monopolies will get all the profits, by means of limited production and high prices, while American labor will

be ground still more by galling poverty, being only partially employed. American consumers will pay these high prices for the luxury of sustaining the present protection of monopolies' policy, with all its toggery of American imperialism.

The correct principles for protecting American wealth in its natural, and political status, are those established by laws protecting from charges of penalties for benefit of monopolies on its cost, excluding all but free, intelligent labor alone, in the element of its value; laws made to conform to the condition, that the more free-trade there is for raw materials, the better demand for wealth will prevail, and labor generally will better acquire more property, the reverse being the case where servile conditions prevail, and in the ratio of that servility.

Wages become good, that is, wealth has more value, when they are free to trade with, from all penalty charges. They are lower, as these charges occur. Under a government that protects in the Christian obligation, that the laborer is worthy to receive in return the full value of the wealth he produces, as a co-operator or co-laborer; any one performing the great religious duty of industry, can acquire enough to support the Christian family relation. He can secure by his labor the foundation of a Christian human life.

A tariff for revenue cannot lawfully exist under American institutions. It would tax unequally—in an over measure on one portion of wealth and let other wealth escape. It is impossible to have such a tariff without making an American landlord monopoly, which would cause this unequal taxation, that would impair the rights

of States, and prevent lawful labor or free trade to acquire what it is enjoined by Creative law to obtain only by labor. It would put a civil law ban on labor, requiring the payment of penalties to ruling classes for the license to labor, the political condition of European labor.

The duties of the Federal government, in regulation of foreign commerce, are only to see that American labor's Federal co-operation shall be protected, developed and perfected. To raise revenue by putting charges on American foreign commerce, levies them only on the American labor's wealth.

American labor would acquire less wealth in competing for that foreign trade, because these charges must all come out of the profits of American trade. A tariff for revenue is therefore an embargo on American foreign free trade, depriving one class of citizens of the right to labor and produce wealth according to their capabilities, and therefore puts them to the disadvantage of acquiring less wealth.

British monopoly has foreign commerce under a "tariff for revenue only"—principally on tea, coffee, sugar and tobacco. It is because British landlord charges are less than those of all other nations, free raw materials producing this result, and alone save the foreign commerce such a tariff would otherwise destroy.

A tariff, not for revenue, but for protection, is an absolute necessity under American institutions, to preserve the wealth of the nation to its own labor, freed from all entangling alliances or contracts of foreign debt. It is true that it is impossible to have such a tariff, without it embargoes a form of American free trade, but only that which is oppressive of American labor, because it

forces to take less profits. The end justifies the means, therefore, where it prevents American landlord monopolies that would themselves otherwise tax American foreign commerce for their own gain at sacrifice of public interests. Then a purely protective—of labor—tariff under American institutions, would destroy British foreign commerce under its present conditions, which would have to make the British tariff protective of its labor to save it from annihilation, against free trade protection of American labor of foreign commerce competition. Such a consummation would make American institutions “A Light of Liberty Enlightening the World,” hailed by all downtrodden labor.

Its protective features are to be, then, that it will embargo American foreign commerce, when the conditions are such that American labor can only get poor wages or small profits by such foreign free trade, no other conditions being offered. Its duty is therefore to forbid American labor degrading itself into servility by taking poor wages or small wealth for its labor from another nation that refuses to offer any better for exchange, as the practice would contaminate all American society and make it servile and be against American public good.

Tariffs must then be on dispensables or luxuries—such as those that their substitutes are natural productions of American labor—only because these luxuries are exchanged by monopolies, who have made their labor servile in producing them, and want only American raw materials for them. The whole protective object should be to secure the wealth of the federation in the hands of its industries, by protecting against monopolies get-

ting it, for the purposes of co-operation in production, and thereby be the guardian of labor.

The foreign industry, skilled in producing dispensables or luxuries, that can be made from American raw materials, is invited to come to America and make those things that Cobden free trade monopolies offer for American raw materials, and use the wealth they thus produce in giving plenty of employment to American landlords of farms, mines, railroads, cities, &c., for their produce, in getting out all the raw materials they can produce for this natural demand, have a home market, save foreign freight, insurance and exchange and all American labor save this profit as its capital, be co-operative thereby, and all get equally good wages, by getting the greatest possible amount of wealth for the least labor.

This is the reverse of the policy in power, which is that the people's money of greenbacks shall be taken away from them, and contracts denied currency, drawing interest in form of government bonds shall be exchanged for them and be a lien on all the wealth of American labor, with no value received, for this obligation of restriction in their use. Then a tariff be put on American labor's own necessities, refusing it any, unless it will submit to pay penalties enough out of its profits to pay the interest on these government bonds, and for the balance of its means of living, pay landlord bounties.

This is making it a tariff for revenue only, in order to tax the profits out of American labor's hands, so that it shall be in a condition of poverty, getting only poor wages, rather than a tariff for protection only, of these profits in its hands from suffering any such charges, that

would impair the capital it produces and has free right to possess as its own.

There is no way to protect American labor in acquiring wealth but to tax for revenue internally, in connection with a tariff for its protection only—that is, for protection of American labor in its foreign commerce, applying the penalties collected for revenue for the great purpose of avoiding any charge on the profits of labor for revenue, and take all revenue thereby from the income or profits of capital, not from profits of labor.

Taxation for revenue must necessarily be by assessment that would cause no check on the production of wealth, hence must be internal only, by a percentage of profits from the income of capital. This is no check on production, because capital will not be held back from use to facilitate production on account of charges for public uses coming out of its income, as it is of no good without use. Capital will then remain at home, because of cheap cost of living. In the case of labor, if at best it can have only a bare subsistence, there is no incitement to produce wealth, and monopolies will use that which they thus acquire to restrict production of any wealth they cannot control for their own profits.

If some industries are to be controlled as a public policy, the way is made perfectly free to have just as much for the same labor in producing any other wealth by protecting American labor. This must be by the full protection of free American trade, but not of free foreign trade, by impoverishing American labor.

It is inevitable but that such tariff restrictions as restrict American production and free trade, at home and abroad, although certain branches of foreign products

may be restricted from free trade in American markets to get revenue, not for protection, incidentally causes all the profits arising from production to go to monopoly interests, to be free to loan, or spend abroad. This is what escapes such taxation, while labor alone pays it, out of its profits.

A tariff is impossible under American institutions, if they are to remain republican, that taxes the means of producing wealth, that is, requires a license fee for using land for making wealth.

There is no reason of justice, except the protection of the equality of right of all American wealth to be free from penalty charges abroad, or else to be indemnified for loss of foreign free trade by increased home development, that warrants such high-handed, quasi-war measures of trade embargoes, as the sovereign, imperial power of tariff restrictions.

The pretext of shutting out all foreign commerce by American industry in its own products by overtaxing their production, in order to give it more employment, and at better wages at home, is a lying ruse of monopolists. Lower wages is the only result and less work. A tariff of this kind involves necessarily a taxation on raw materials, and thereby the establishment of an American landlord monopoly, which only employs labor at the lowest possible servile wages. American labor is thereby debarred the rights to buy its raw material so it can have free trade for its products.

Tariff restrictions of really protective principles, of all American labor alike, favoring none, would cause such an immigration of only educated skilled labor to America, and there would be such a rapid production of

wealth, and American labor would itself be so wealthy, and the facilities of accumulating wealth by monopolies through servile labor would be so restricted in those countries from which this immigration came, that their governments would be obliged to remove the political condition of servility, so their remaining labor would be emancipated, to save from being depopulated, or their monopoly oppressors from being driven out by force.

The correct principle in American tariff restrictions, is to force foreign industries to assert their natural rights to the profits of their production, as the only condition which will admit of free trade in American markets for the products of their labor; because it is impossible for these foreign industries to so trade as to preserve the value of American wealth to its own labor, without they are free to own the wealth they produce. Even this is not the salvation of American labor, unless all its internal political conditions are protected in the wealth it acquires, by having no political protection of monopolies.

Therefore Cobden Club principles of free trade cannot be tolerated, under American institutions as constructed by our forefathers, although they are in harmony with the principles of the party in power. They are in fact tolerated by its policy in this way, in violation of American institutions. That is, it permits foreign manufactures to come in just enough to get revenue out of American labor's profits and thereby forces to less product of home manufactures and more export raw materials too cheap. It therefore gives Cobden Club free trade to the world by furnishing it enough American cheap raw materials, as compensation for excluding it

from free trade in American markets. It is a great friend of the European monopoly. The penalties are nominally high, but this is because American landlord monopolies are getting very high penalties from the protection of their resources, by a high duty on raw materials, so that American consumers do not have to suffer more loss of wealth by paying revenue to the government, than to American landlord monopolies. The policy of the party in power is to preserve these balances, but not to have any tariff reform that would lighten the toil of American labor, and protect it in securing more wealth, by refusing its aid to monopolies in their occupation of the public lands and robbery, degrading American labor.

The foreign conditions of depreciation of the value of American products, demanding protective-tariff restrictions on foreign dispensables or luxuries, are caused by their establishment of landlord entailments and other monopolies, like the Bank of England. In either case the result is the same. Those producing the American products of foreign commerce, do not get their value out of them abroad. Producers of foreign lands are profitable for American labor, only when they retain their profits or capital as the basis of exchange.

If monopoly only has profits for sale, and sells them for more, but first buys them of their servile labor for less than they are worth, then the condition is one of forced under-production and under-consumption, not for benefit of producer, but of the income class that rules over it. He gets poorer wages for them, because of a restricted, rather than free, trade. The consumer pays more than they are worth because they become

monopolies. International free trade with such conditions causes both industries to receive only servile wages.

Absolute free trade with China would only cause American labor to receive Chinese wages. It would make no difference how many or valuable products were produced by labor-saving devices of American labor. All they would bring would be what was in the market to exchange for them. American labor would have to take Chinese products for its own, those left for subsistence after Chinese monopolies had absorbed the profits. That is, if American labor were free, Chinese labor being like present American and European labor—servile

The term "tariff for revenue only," is very misleading. It should not be construed to mean, that there should be a tariff for revenue. Such a tariff is anti-co-operative in its nature and therefore anti-American. The only logical meaning of the term under American institutions can be, that penalties, arising from tariff restrictions made for protection of American labor to preserve the natural distribution of wealth—be applied for revenue only, not as bounties to sectional interests. Otherwise the States would lose their sovereign rights of protection within their bounds from over and unequal taxation without civil-law relief. They would by this process, be only removing the claws of the lion of their protection to hang them up in the archives, at Washington, as the diplomatic trophies of treaties of subjugation of the liberties of States or Nations, to an alien, imperial power, ruling from Washington.

Custom duties to be lawful, however, must not necessarily be prohibitive—only protective by being compen-

sative. If the penalties are sufficient to recoup the damage suffered by American foreign commerce, and taken from American consumers of what would not injure them, if deprived of their use, and applied for revenue only, home substitutes being cheap because free from all bounty charges, then the tariff is thoroughly and only protective—not in the least taxative of any interest—of American labor. Such a tariff does not destroy the State's sovereign rights as nations independent of each other, if applied for revenue only, since there must be a Federal revenue, that States must otherwise contribute.

Under American institutions, without need for a Federal revenue, there could be no such thing as a protective tariff made. Protection then would have to be secured by an absolute embargo of those foreign monopoly manufactures made by servile labor, that are now entered subject to custom penalties.

Our forefathers, including Jefferson, claimed that although tariff was to be applied for revenue only, because revenue was a necessity, yet its protective policy or power was to be paramount, while revenue should be collected internally, rather than not have the tariff protective only. If it was found that duties were too heavy, and that therefore American foreign trade languished because unprofitable, then they were to be lightened, and all the balance of the revenue was to come from internal taxation. When the tariff is made for revenue, it only taxes American labor, ceases to be protective of it. It becomes protective only of American landlord monopolies. If the tariff were protective of American labor no complaint would be made, when Germany excluded American meat and France restricted free trade in

American grain, for the home market would be better than any those countries could possibly afford. Our forefathers would have abandoned tariff restrictions, if they believed that this would best protect American foreign free trade, except as possibly a temporary resort, until the government became well cemented, frankly taxing labor as a necessity for organization only. Principle was temporarily supplanted for policy only, but not for precedent.

The precedents under the American government for taxing necessities of American labor by tariff penalties, for revenue only, to preserve the public credit and pay the public debt, were a part of American slavery and other landlord political traditions imported from Europe. They are bad in principle. They are not Republican, because monopoly-wealth and privilege, rather than labor, is represented and its power preserved, while labor is deprived of the political power to preserve itself. They are wholly inexcusable practices. They never can be so adjusted as not to protect monopolies in taxing bounties out of American labor, making it poorer and less able to pay its debts, thereby restricting its free trade, and compelling it to be so degraded as to employ monopoly capital to make its exchanges, because too poor to have any capital or credit of its own to do this itself; this monopoly capital simply using its credit for currency, of as little value as possible to be current at all, because the lower the value the greater the oppression and profit.

That is, the more the tariff is for revenue and the less for protection, the more it will protect monopolies, the more it will tax labor, the poorer American industry

will be, and the poorer in value the credit it uses for its currency, and the greater will be its foreign indebtedness on which it must pay perpetual debt of interest.

Any Federal revenue to keep up the credit of the government, should be by an equal internal taxation, as a Federal principle, and only just enough for this purpose; always using greenbacks for currency and legal tender, while public debt exists, the government never buying any bullion, only coining on demand for American labor.

To have internal taxation an equal assessment on the income of the national wealth, it should be indirect. Wealth cannot be reached and fairly valued for the purposes of direct taxation. The Federal government in its control of railroads, as the licensed or privileged common carriers for the great public, could take a percentage of the receipts for fiscal revenue. This would have the advantage of being a great check on public waste, because the people would be very sensitive to every overcharge for freight, the results of which no one could escape, and everybody would thereby contribute his share. Internal taxation on spirits, beer and tobacco are unequal taxations, although perhaps they might be equalized if the same amount was placed on imported goods of same kind. The only justification for taxing them is not for revenue but to control their use for socialistic purposes. The present tax on them comes all on American labor, whether it consumes or not and only protects monopolies. Social rights require that the government should manufacture those they control, if abuse in their use is to be corrected as the object of penalties. There is no right in taxing an individual as a penalty for consumption for revenue. That citizen does not

stand in equal right before the law. He is over and unequally taxed. The use of any thing by the citizen that is lawful to make, is his social right under the law. The fundamental remedy from any wrong resulting from use of any thing, is the elevation of labor, by removing unlawful oppressions.

Admitting these principles of protection to be correct, and to have been in force in the previous administration of the Federal government, the deduction may be logically made, that there would have been no civil war on account of slavery. Simply to have protected all production of wealth in freedom from penalties that only absorb profits of labor without equivalent, would have made the production of wealth by free labor so much more profitable that slave labor would have been abandoned. It would have paid better to hire labor to co-operate with Southern natural monopolies and improvements thereon.

It is a historical fact that the products of Southern monopolists by slave labor were sold at bounty prices to American politically free labor of the North. This Federal policy, perpetuated by the party in power, absorbed the profits of its free labor to Southern monopoly of slave power, for which these monopolists rendered no equivalent. Southern landlord monopolies thereby got wealth appropriated as bounties by the Federal government, without regard to the rights of States, out of the profits of Northern labor, which received only the wages of servile labor, that of subsistence. Northern labor's liberties of free trade were sold out by its own State representatives, who voted this way to secure an electoral majority and the spoils of office, and thereby made

mudsills of American free labor to the South. The Southern monopolists had good ground to taunt Northern labor with the name mudsills—a labor politically free, that was so servile as to sell its political liberties so cheap, with all its degrading oppression to be visited on future generations, so that its representatives might have Federal political honors. Demagogues of the North told this Northern labor that such a tariff would give it diversified employment, by developing American manufactures. It did not diversify that employment as much as a really protective tariff would. It put down the value of the national wealth. It was called protective. It was in fact of monopolies, but not of American labor.

The late civil war was caused really by oppression of American labor. It made monopoly-wealth South almost strong enough to overturn the government. The policy of the party in power is to establish the same conditions for another civil war, to result, however, in absolute political dissolution of the Federal union, if American industry should be so servile as to permit it to rule long enough.

Labor having its profits as capital to co-operate in cheapening the cost of the production of wealth, would have produced more of it than slave labor, and have therefore been more profitable. Slave power could not have carried on the late civil war, and would therefore have to be abandoned, because so poor and profitless.

This politically free labor of the North only received less wealth for its labor by Federal interference with its rights, by which it bonded its profits to landlord monopolies, including those of the South. Free American labor could have secured itself full employment by di-

versity, including a retention of its foreign commerce, that would have made its profits better than they were, that is, its wealth greater, if it had not voted to pay out its profits as bounties to those whom it permitted to hold natural resources—only, however, for the public good—not as a means of taxing bounties out of American labor.

The late civil war was really caused through oppression by Southern monopolies of politically free labor. As slave monopoly held the balance of Federal party power, free labor permitted its own taxation, which so built up slave power that it was able to punish this free labor and force it to spill its blood on Southern soil to preserve its freedom and the Union.

The educative position of American citizenship, entrusted with the duty of voting on public policy, demands that it shall expose to American toilers, who should be free for only animating industry, all the conditions that militate against the Federal equality of right, they are entitled to, by virtue of their American citizenship ; and that far from abundance of American labor, putting down the value of its wealth, freed from bounties, this abundance will improve its value, never depreciate it.

With constitutional right of protection enforced, all the Federal industry becomes co-operative, and there will be no such thing as two employers running after one employee and thereby put up the price of wages, nor of two employees after one employer, putting down their price thereby. This only occurs under the rule of monopoly powers, over the Federal relation, creating arbitrary laws of supply and demand.

It might be as logically maintained that supply and demand of labor regulate themselves independently of

any other form of taxation or restriction on the production of wealth, as well as that of the tariff. No one believes, however, but that Ireland could hold several times her present population, and still there be a better demand with this increased supply of labor for the production of wealth, which is now controlled and withheld from production by the government establishment of restrictions entailed on natural resources or land, for the purpose of appropriating the wealth this labor must produce or perish, for imperial, foreign-to-the-realm purposes—landlords being empowered to do this. Rents are marked up to bounty prices, limiting from enhanced cost the use of improvements on natural resources, lowering the value of wealth to Irish labor, by entailing bounty taxation or charges for the privilege of producing them; and Irish emigration to secure homes and wealth by free industry from such charges on production.

It is landlord, or natural-resource-monopoly taxation of high rents or royalties, by means of this government-protected arbitrary value set on the price of improvements and natural monopolies, to use for procuring raw materials, that puts down the value of the wealth Irish industry would otherwise produce and hold for itself. This taxation by rent charges forces labor to work, only to support income aristocracies, by which the producers get only a poor living. Monopoly appropriates, by imperial power, all the balance, it being alien and irresponsible to society for the amount acquired, absorbing all there is that is not consumed in cost of production.

No one believes but that Irish industry in far greater supply would receive better profits to each laborer for his production of wealth, if landlord monopoly did not

absorb them, returning scarcely more than a subsistence in form of potatoes, peat and use of hovels to Irish labor.

All the profits of American labor become monopolized capital, used to employ this labor to co-operate with it for monopoly profit only. Of this stock, the American monopolists wishes to use some to exchange for imported dispensables or luxuries, such as these anti-Federal tariff restrictions have prevented American labor from producing at much less cost.

Some of these, in form of railroad securities, are sold in Europe, which even Irish landlords buy. Then how can Irish labor compensate for granting it American free trade? It would only thereby absorb American wealth, with no equivalent return, because it has none to give. Thereby political party power controls labor and is the agency to force the profits it produces, to support an income aristocracy in Europe, of the most imperial, offensive and degrading kind.

The capital of Irish landlords is produced by Irish labor. It is loaned on American securities, forcing railroad carrying charges to be enough higher on every sack of flour, every pound of tea, car load of lumber, ton of coal, pound of paint, &c., American labor consumes, to pay interest on their railroad bonds, that thereby compels American labor to support Irish income aristocracy by its degrading toil.

American railroad bonds are the income of European aristocracy, after American labor has been impoverished by imperial-law restrictions into selling them.

We are told that this shows the wages of American industry to be better than any other. It shows that American industry does not get the good wages it pro-

duces in exchange for them, but that they are absorbed by monopolies at home and European income aristocracies, and then loaned back with the penalty of usury for their use, which American industry must toil to produce to support aristocracies, combined to rob both European and American industries and keep them poor.

If American industry retained its profits from the clutches of monopolies, as capital, these would be invested, among other things, in its own co-operative capital, made into railroads. If, then, the prices of carrying charges were the same as required to pay dividends for support of domestic and foreign income aristocracies, American labor producing these railroads, would receive those dividends itself, compensating thereby for possible overcharges, and spending that income at home, thereby naturally adjusting distribution of wealth. These free conditions would make it more profitable than to spend it in buying those semi-pagan, servile-labor products of Europe and Asia.

There might be fewer very rich people under such a dispensation of the power of the protecting arm of the Federal government, but infinitely more independent, self-reliant American families, obeying the law of Creative power. The aggregate American wealth owned by American labor free from debt would be infinitely more than the census report of 1890 will show it to be.

The real cause of profits or capital pertaining in the past to American labor, have alone been the too great abundance of natural monopolies, or land, to make paternal monopolies—the friends of American labor, securing too many free homesteads for labor. These are now paying tribute to monopolies, that prevent their having the value they otherwise would have.

The time has passed of as good profits as have prevailed for American labor, because its railroads are drawing revenue abroad from the toil of this labor to support foreign income classes, using American natural monopolies as their easements under Federal control; and by means of tariffs for revenue forcing this labor to build these railroads for monopolies at less than the value of free wages—the price of servile wages.

The present policy of tariff restrictions on raw materials is the cause. Nothing short of extinction of this policy will restore the national wealth—its control now non-resident—to American labor free from all charges on it for debt, with perpetual debt of interest to be entailed on labor's children as a political condition entailed on coming generations of servile, un-Christian toilers—instead of humanity being endowed by law with a Christian estate of freedom.

There was a great wrong done American labor following the late civil war, that greenbacks were suppressed, and contracts funded with penalties, bonding the profits of American labor, and national banks of issue established freed from performing lawful contracts. The wrong was sustained to enable monopolists to get rich at expense of American labor, overburdened by its Federal tariff for revenue. Protection only of monopoly was thereby established to hold the national wealth and rule over American labor bonded to be in a servile condition.

The rapid extinguishment of the public—Federal, State and county—debt was made wholly by use of greenbacks, without oppression of American labor.

A high tariff for revenue, all out of American labor,

plausibly to sustain the credit of the government, really to enhance the value of government bonds, bought below par, was part of the program.

All this was done under the campaign cry of facilitating the people's production of wealth, by giving them employment. It only made the lien on that production, good for many times the value American industry received for its labor, the tariff being for revenue to pay these bonds—not for labor's protection.

It is so to-day, and designed by a subtlety quite beyond average American comprehension. Political policies so effectually establish a monied aristocracy that the army, navy and all the powers of the government will be under its management as retainers. It will control all representation, if its rule continues, and sovereignties of the States, because American labor is made servile.

The first effectual "header" to its imperial extension of power was the resignation of Senators Conkling and Platt from the United States Senate, in order to prevent irresponsible powers at Washington controlling the political rights of the State of New York, and rob her producers of wealth of their Federal co-operative value, by robbing them of free representation that would protect their rights.

Imperial governments depend on taxing the profits growing out of the productions of servile labor—instead of those growing out of the use of capital—for revenue, so long as labor is vicious and ignorant enough to be incompetent to perform the duties of self-government for the public good.

There is no benefit to American labor in making it feel a sense of its wrongs, without a corresponding sense

of its duties. Such is the work of demagogues. It must not violently lay hold of existing civil law institutions, until it can organize and unite to protect co-operation only, doing justice to all, putting down the claims of all private interests, and be able thus to establish and protect the free institutions to which it is heir, by supplementing those existing.

It must do far different from what labor is now doing, with all the governments of all the Americas, including Canada. It must not transfer its duties of government to the power of private interests or monopolies, by giving them the money power. It must retain this to itself.

To-day the governments of all the Americas are more imperial than republican. The imperialism governing them—a non-resident power—perpetual debt—controlling labor and making it only servile—is the ruling power, the tribute being to European monopolies.

President Jackson's first message of second term in 1832, says:

“Those who take an enlarged view of the condition of our country, must be satisfied that the policy of protection must be ultimately limited to those articles of domestic manufacture which are indispensable to our safety in time of war. Within this scope, on a reasonable scale it is recommended by every consideration of patriotism and duty, which will doubtless always secure to it a liberal and efficient support. But beyond this object, we have already seen the operation of the system productive of discontent. In some sections of the republic, its influence is deprecated as tending to concentrate wealth in a few hands, and as creating those germs of dependence and vice which in other countries, have

characterized the existence of monopolies, and proved so detrimental of liberty and the general good. A large portion of the people, in one section of the republic, declares it not only inexpedient on these grounds, but as disturbing the equal relations of property by legislation, and therefore unconstitutional and unjust."

Jefferson, also, before Jackson, was opposed to the practice and principle of not taking the public revenue from the income of capital, instead of from the profits of labor. It was, however, found necessary to submit to it, because monopoly—including law-protected slavery—had the great voting power, which it appears to have to-day. This is a bad precedent, not to be defended. It is not subject to the contract of the Federal relation and the spirit of American institutions.

It remains to be seen whether or not, this power can continue to exist, with the extinction of the paternal monopoly of slavery, that had previously held the balance of power; whether monopoly rule shall, or not, destroy American institutions. Jefferson and Jackson were essentially friends of industry and haters of monopolies, hence advocated the elimination of all monopoly protective features from the tariff, making those imported products free, the use of which would enable American labor to hold its profits as its own capital or wealth, against the assaults of monopoly. They would rely on internal taxation for revenue, rather than make any tariff restrictions than those for protection of American labor in securing wealth. They would make the humblest classes self-supporting, and well provided in natural comforts, that they be not a charge on the public funds and be forced to degraded dependence.

Protection of profits in the hands of those who make them, is the only possible means of applying them to preserve the autonomy, sovereignty and equality of the States or nationalities in their Federal relation. Our forefathers were opposed to collecting a revenue to give to States, although Jackson advocated a distribution of an already existing Federal surplus, for the sole reason, that it would prevent jobbery at Washington. Public improvements were justified, only as military necessities, like the Pacific railroad; having in view incidentally their commercial advantages, but not as a means of spending money for the sake of getting rid of a surplus arising from a tariff for revenue.

The present tariff restrictions are made to get fiscal revenue out of the profits of labor only, and free all the profits of capital that is made thereby non-resident from taxation; hence there are better profits of income to-day from the use of capital than from the wages of labor, after profits are taken out for revenue, and bounties to private interests.

There is absolutely no protection of the production of manufactures at all, any more than there is of the production of any other American wages. The tariff shuts out free trade of foreign products, only of the kind, and for the sole purpose of taxing the profits of American labor for the gain of private interest.

The result of the false position that American laborers—classed as manufacturers—are put in, against the public interest, and for permanent injury to themselves is, that they must have periodically higher duties to exist as a temporary relief, but necessarily be always infant industries, because monopolies gauge their necessities,

and get forever after all the profits, once supply overtakes demand.

So the wages of American labor, including those of the manufacturer are not free, but taxed, because monopolies absorb their profits. Exclusion of foreign manufactures is no protection of the wealth of home manufactures. Theirs are, therefore, poor wages—wages of subsistence only—without profits—hence they must borrow capital of monopolies with which to do business, paying interest therefor, because they are not protected by Federal laws in retaining the profits they have earned as their own capital. To protect their wealth, they must be also protected from landlord charges at home.

The policy of the present tariff is to exclude the use of foreign raw materials, by excluding manufactures from them except enough to make labor pay the tariff for revenue only. This tariff for revenue is so made as to secure a market for American monopoly of raw materials in a larger amount, and only on condition that American labor shall be heavily taxed for use of them. There is, therefore, no Federal protection whatever of American labor by the present tariff, for revenue, but only of landlord monopoly—pure taxation. The balance account of American wages is therefore in debt to penalties in cost of production; so it has nothing after paying the political debts, it votes to subsidise all its profits to honor, with the co-operation of the venal vote—the only power of co-operation protected.

Silver, like shoes, is a product of American labor, which should not be charged bounties in cost of production, since the surplus competes with Mexico and other parts of America in supplying it as a crude product for India and China.

The political regime under present tariff restrictions forces American industry to deliver silver, because of a tariff for revenue only, among other unmanufactured products, like copper, lead, wheat, cotton, hops, butter, cheese, &c., for mere barter to a foreign commerce, at any convenient harbor, costing enhanced freight charges, made by foreigners on the American shore.

It is forced to hustle them out of the country, before there are more bounty charges on them when manufactured, inflicted by the inquisition of Federal power. It compels them to get beyond the reach of American taxation for private interests, to have them manufactured cheap enough to buy foreign necessities with, although this same Federal inquisition compels American labor to be idle. The present Federal tariff restrictions, enhancing the cost of silver arbitrarily, for example, preventing its home use for manufacture, are paving the way for rule over American labor by the foreign power of debt. It controls through lien contracts, drawing its revenues by absorbing the profits of American labor, forcing it to take from foreign commerce such imports as exported raw materials will buy so sparingly, after deducting from their value foreign freight, insurance and exchange.

American labor must get into debt for the balance of imports, on account of actually having only low-valuation products to pay with. These are the poor rewards of owning an abundance of natural resources, handing them over to monopolies, and working hard without free trade to prevent a loss of profits.

American industry has no market of its own, because

of the tariff-for-revenue restriction bond it wears, which enjoins it from any free trade whatever—with all the best markets of the world—those of natural mutual exchange. Landlord monopolies insist on having all the profits of the labor of the manufacturer, if he wishes to do the service of paying for all foreign exchanges, and keeping American labor of all kinds free from the bondage of perpetual foreign debt of interest. The present tariff for revenue incidentally protects the American landlord in enforcing these demands, but provides no refuge of American labor for resisting them.

It humbly pleads with monopolies, and buys credit enough from them in exchange for its own valuable wealth—frozen out of the free trade use that would dispense with need of credit.

This credit produces public and private improvements, consisting of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, cities, harbors, &c., instead of their being produced by a mutual exchange of solid wealth. These are foreclosed and absorbed by monopolies, to redeem contracts made to obtain this credit, and by them sold in part to Europe, pay being taken also in luxuries or dispensables—for traveling expenses—living in Europe, and for the dozens of trunks, belonging to every wealthy family returned home to visit, filled with valuables, not paying custom dues.

There is also a brisk business of placing large amounts of this American wealth in Europe—under the name of marriage contracts. American girls are sometimes the auxiliary, rather than the principal consideration entering into these contracts.

The girls are not to blame, since American industry has been long-eared enough to lose the most precious liberties of American citizenship, its manliness and independence. It is not worthy of their notice, having neglected proper provision for family support, and undertaken the contract of supporting, by its own toil, an income aristocracy in Europe, in addition to one at home, and the extravagance of a spoils-of-office party in power.

It has become so impoverished with a generation of poor wages that it is incompetent to maintain good society relations. It must borrow the use of capital from Europe to live on, paying interest for its use, bonding its heritage the fathers of the revolution made free. The children of some of those American girls, now settled in Europe, if they had suffered themselves to be wedded to servile American husbands, would be drudging to earn the income of European aristocracy.

A monopoly of American landscapes, consequently of raw materials provided by our forefathers for free use of American labor, enhances the price or cost of all American wealth, including improvements upon natural resources themselves. This status makes it cost more labor to produce American cities, harbors, manufactories and railroads. At the same time, it puts down their net value after they are produced to American labor, but not to income classes abroad, because it deprives of a free trade use to secure value.

This is the quality of wages monopolies furnish American producers. They are only contract, servile-labor wages, like the wages of slaves—without profits. It is

intended they shall be so poor that labor must get into debt for its living expenses, and then borrow enough, on the credit of its homes and sources of wealth, bonding all to pay usury or penalties, amounting to enough to support an American and European aristocracy. It is therefore very apparent that American labor has too big a contract on its hands to be idle, travel and have many holidays.

After the American revolutionary war the cost of lumber to build a road, canal, city, manufactory, mine or ship, was the charge for the labor to cut down the trees and make them into lumber. There was no cost for stumpage, royalties, bounties or penalties, charged by some who got them for nothing—as it is to-day. There was then too much unoccupied, unimproved land to make a monopoly of natural wealth of location.

The American revolutionary tax was to save British monopoly power, and its foreign commerce at the same time, against such free trade American competition.

What our forefathers of the revolution accomplished, the present political policy has given up, and is defiantly contributing the profits of American labor to British monopoly Cobden Club free trade, by establishing an American monopoly aristocracy, to clog American progress and stifle American liberty and her spirit of free trade abroad.

Under the present servility of all the labor of all the Americas to monopolies, it will be compelled to pay enough more for carrying charges than they cost to produce, in making its own internal exchanges, to support an income aristocracy, whose income is spent in Europe,

and at the same time be deprived of any foreign commerce of its own.

This settles the whole question of European control of American home commerce. What does Europe care for the Monroe doctrine? She has only to remain passive, so long as American labor pays this perpetual debt of penalties or usury. The exchanges of American labor among their own States do not even therefore have political protection of free trade, but are subject to these charges out of their value, for no value returned.

Any political revolt against paying these penalties may be visited by a naval infliction in detail on American States—the smaller first—of European powers, which are all getting interested in this matter. Already these foreign debts have called European navies, plausibly to friendly reviews in South American harbors, really to dictate terms of payment, and force loans with oppressive conditions, making the industries of those States too poor to co-operate for profitable exchange with other American States. The Monroe doctrine cannot be maintained, unless American institutions are first kept alive for protection of American labor. The policy of the party in power paves the way for European interference that cannot be questioned, because monopoly will take no steps to defend American labor.

If American labor had had full protection of its profits from the incipency of the Federal relation, it is a proper conclusion to affirm that it would not have been so poor that it was made to suffer a marauding infliction of the British navy that wantonly destroyed the defenseless archives at Washington in the war of 1812.

The present tariff is covertly assisting in this subjugation.

tion of American liberties to European domination of debt. Tory landlord aristocracy of Europe, allied with the seeds of Toryism—of a society built upon American landlord aristocracy—left to grow in America after the revolution, is circumventing American liberties, by controlling political policies at Washington, in defiance of public interests, through political conditions of non-resident wealth. It failed to accomplish this by the war of the revolution. It goes into the market, buys, owns and pairs off venal votes against those of American labor cast to regain its liberties.

Its ally and co-worker has been the British Whig aristocracy of manufacturing and commercial wealth, advocating Cobden principles of free trade for adoption by America. Both these policies are against the liberties of American industry.

The party in power has been hand in hand with these foreign agencies, going just far enough to establish American aristocracies of the same kind. It permits enough of the Cobden Club principles of free trade to suit its own monopoly interests. That is, it permits enough foreign manufacturers to have free trade in American markets for their products, for custom duties to get penalties for revenue out of the wages of American toilers, as consumers, so that American landlords shall have their profits out of penalties on raw materials used for home manufacture.

Free raw materials and a duty on foreign manufactures against all the nations that accumulate their wealth by servile labor, will not only destroy Cobden Club principles of free trade in America, but destroy it in the British empire, to hold any foreign commerce, compet-

ing with American free-labor foreign commerce. The British naval power will count for nought in this contest. This is a far more profitable policy than to build an American navy.

American landlord monopoly is attained by having tariff restrictions against British monopoly manufactures that are American labor's necessities, because bounties to these American monopolies make American substitutes cost as much as those imported with custom penalties added. They become absolute necessities, therefore, because American labor has not the free trade products that home manufacturers can use, having no use for them, because taxed into a limited home market. Not having any other products than wheat, cotton, &c., these are used to buy where they can get a market for their sale, by taking British exchange. In the mean time, every other class of American consumers, which embraces a much larger quantity, must buy at home, selling their products, like wool, for example, at a poor price, because of no market at all abroad. These products sell too low, and buy American manufactures having landlord bounties charged up in prices. The fact that the products they have to sell for these manufactures are also charged bounties in cost of production only makes their net value still poorer. The tariff being for revenue, not for protection, enough of Cobden Club principles of trade are established, by having the tariff just low enough to suit American monopoly interests; that is, make American labor that exports raw materials pay the revenue, and the balance charged on American consumers goes to American landlord monopolies. To more effectually secure this consummation, taxes by internal revenue are being cut off.

How the aristocracy of monopoly hates the very name of "liberty" and "free trade"! It derides them to the American labor which supports it, and hires the party in power to hiss the words in contempt during Presidential campaigns, in the ears of American industry. It however, depends on the venal vote as the balance of power to secure perpetual electoral majorities.

How long before outraged American labor will lift its emblem of free trade and sailors' rights, in peaceful commerce all over the world—that emblem now trailed in the dust. When will it carry the olive branch of peace, liberty, protection, contentment as a well-provided Christian industry, to the shores of toilers oppressed by monopolies. Will the time soon have come when those oppressed industries shall dare, in the face of tyrants, to cover the cannon that would frown down on American free trade—of equal, mutual exchange, perhaps needing a navy to defend its commerce abroad, when American free trade shall offer it in all the harbors of the world, with all its disturbing influence of unrest for oppressed labor, if it does not need a navy for home protection.

American—not foreign—free trade, was essentially Alexander Hamilton's idea, he appreciating the political fact that wealth produced from untaxed-for bounties American natural resources, would always be better than the wealth of Europe to its producers, where the idle classes appropriated the national profits for their living. He also claimed that the federal protection from all bounties, was protection thereby of the profits to American labor. This was the corner stone of their successful foreign commerce of free trade, whether com-

peting against the taxed-for-benefit-of-monopolies' products of Europe, or those of Asia. He did not fear the competition of the servile, cheap, degraded-labor product. No other but the products of free industry, could compete with American free trade. Now, however, a political party gets its support and installment into power on condition it will make the Federal government a supporter of certain monopolies of raw materials, so that these can by a forced exchange, tax the profits of American producers and consumers only.

The immigration that this party fosters, is that which will contract to work for less wages than are the political right, and for the honor of American citizenship.

There is a popular political error, used with some effect in Presidential campaigns. It is, that tariff restriction penalties come out of the foreign producer, not out of the domestic consumer. American labor is disposed to believe this. It draws its conclusions from the fact that its own exports of raw materials sell for what only yields poor wages to their producers.

The reason is, that they compete in an unnatural market with the products of the servile labor of the world, where they are sent, not to obtain profits on production, but to pay foreign debts. They are therefore sold by the creditor. They are practically sold "under the rule" for what they will bring, other competing products of servile labor making their price. Their own natural market—at home—where there is no servile labor competition under unviolated American institutions, is destroyed by the policy of a party platform which says that no part of the present policy shall be abandoned. American labor for self-protection will therefore be com-

pelled to abandon that party, by keeping it in an electoral minority.

Opposition political parties out of power, may well look to their laurels. At this late day of the awakening of American labor to its political and natural rights, as Jefferson taught and Washington defended, localities must not be yielded the promise of protection of private or landlord-monopoly interests, in order to secure electoral majorities. If there is one monopoly left, it becomes dictator. It alone gets all the net profits or capital. Labor is therefore not emancipated, but servile, in its political and industrial status—none the less so because of fewer monopolies.

If half of American labor emigrated under present political conditions, that left would not have more wealth. Even labor unions could not make monopoly enough to retain profits to labor. Non-production and non-consumption is the status of any thing beyond what yield profits to monopolies. Labor would still be poor. The same conditions would prevail if labor was doubled in supply. No profits to labor in any event. A depletion of laborers would result in an increased cost of living to compensate for any increased wages from scarcity of labor.

At present Great Britain's aristocracies of wealth, as a ruling class, have much in favor of perpetuating imperialism over British labor, by her tariff for revenue and her credit of the Bank of England for currency. This advantage in their favor is because so many governments aid, by their own greater monopolies of natural resources.

All of Great Britain's commercial greatness is for the

aggrandizement of her monopolies, not for the independence and wealth of the producers of her wealth. Her greatest help to give her people at home employment, so that they can produce what they receive without being a public charge on monopolies, is the fact of the opening of her markets, as the only ones in the world for free trade in raw materials and thereby drawing all the world's servile-labor raw materials under her political rule.

All other nations tax their protection of wealth and thereby restrict home manufactures, so these cannot be exported for interchange between neutral nations, although some are exported for mutual exchange.

By this policy the surplus of the world's raw materials comes to her markets, and through them exchange for their imported necessities from neutral nations. She buys them therefore so cheap that she can give her servile labor employment, and with the manufactures produced, buy all these foreign exchanges in neutral markets, those of tea, coffee, &c., cheaper than can be done otherwise by the industries needing them.

Almost all governments of the Americas by constitutions in some form or other, have secured full political protection of the profits of labor from absorption by landlord or other entailments on them. This constitutional protection, however, has been violated by political parties in power under contests for political rule and spoils of office, until landlord entailments and other monopolies have been made, by means of tariff restrictions. Railroad debts are the principle modern forms of these entailments on free trade. In some cases, by railroad

subsidies, making the debt a part of the financial budget.

The political remedies for all these infringements on the protection of the fundamental law, rest solely with the people, who have the political power for voting on matters affecting public policy ; demonstrating the amount of Christian development that renders them capable of self-government as a co-operative society—that kind of government that does protect, as by its constitution it agrees to do—that does not permit monopoly representation to pair itself off—the venal vote representing it—with labor representation and thus withhold the protection constitutionally due to labor.

Tariff restrictions against those products of servile labor, that are not raw materials of any kind from which American industry can be self-employed co-operatively, enable American labor to save its profits, as capital that can make its products become export, free trade manufactures. They do not close up manufactories and prevent employment at all, but open them all up and secure profitable labor for American industries. They do not force a currency of servile products for domestic and foreign exchanges, and therefore do not create a debt owing by its industry for its subsistence, requiring all its future profits to be paid as interest on that debt, because its products have too poor a market to extinguish it, causing thereby its children to be born only to cruel toil for bare necessities, from the dawn to the closing scenes among all that is beneficent under the law of Creative power and delightful in nature, carrying a pall of perpetual debt to them as the only ragged mantle of protection inherited from degraded parentage.

Monopolies ask subsidies to partly pay carrying charges for manufactures, acquired from toil of servile American, and unnaturalized imported, alien, servile contract labor at less than value, to South America and other countries. At the same time they maintain that Europe can make manufactures—because of less cost of labor—cheaper than America can, and that on this account there must be tariff restrictions against them. This shows that their whole policy is, to prevent American industry from getting profits out of exports, as it is not permitted to out of home manufactures.

Good American profits for labor and bounties to American lordships cannot stand together. One must prevail to the loss of the other. Which shall it be? is the issue of the age. Political parties must stand or fall on that issue. A little less measure of monopoly oppression, advocated by one party then another, will not do. If monopoly is right, sustain it. If wrong, American industry, on principle, must crush it to save itself from toil and degradation. To secure wealth to itself it must protect against imperial abstractions of profits by monopolies, or give up its wealth to them as an income class. American labor cannot afford to be tampered with by any “monkey deals” of political parties, no matter with what subtlety they are concealed.

American consumers would be able to purchase some things cheaper than at present, yet the value of American wealth in every form would be less under such conditions of international free trade as the Cobden Club advocates; but by protecting American industry’s free trade through exclusion of such international free trade, living would be cheaper than Cobden Club ways provide.

Lackeys of monopoly will have cold comfort, and shall not be permitted to claim that the present conditions of taxation of American production are better than the Cobden principles of free trade are. The latter, of the two last named conditions, is at least no worse if not better than present conditions. American protection of its Federal rights of free trade for its own labor under the constitution is, however, far better than either of the two conditions referred to.

British foreign commerce is monopolistic only. It has no essence of co-operation in it. It only works oppression of labor, to the political position of a degraded, toiling class, where it exists—to the labor of the countries it free trades with, as well as that at home. It can have free trade and exist only, because other governments are more imperial than the British government is, only because raw materials are free in Great Britain. Witness the oppression of American labor in its own attempts at foreign trade, in competition with British foreign commerce, through the violation of its law of protection by the policy of the party in power to serve British monopoly foreign commerce interests.

Therefore any American foreign commerce developed by subsidies, with no relief from oppressions on its home free trade, would be as imperial over the natural rights of American labor as British foreign commerce is over labor affected by its system. Subsidies, with foreign outlet they would make, is not the protection of the rights of American labor, for which the contract of the Federal relation provides. They would only add to its oppressions to the extent the tax for subsidies calls for fresh levies on their wealth. Labor's profits would still

be nil. Monopoly political conditions would absorb them.

In building up American foreign commerce by means of subsidies, it must be for monopoly gain only. American industry will continue getting poor wages. The policy of monopoly is first of all to secure the negro vote, and control it; then hold it perpetually, as the balance of power. The program for this purpose is, to control, from Washington, State elections. This is not to be done as the constitution intended, for federation purposes, which is, to preserve to the people of the States a republican form of government for protection of individual rights of wealth. It is to secure electoral majorities by the venal vote, that will override the will and rights of the States, and so control the methods of labor as to absorb its profits into power over it.

The means of exercising imperial power over the States is to be by the cat's-paw of the Federal officers interfering with the free vote of the people—not securing it—creating unlawful disabilities—the monopoly power at Washington to decide without appeal—the venal vote to be put in the balances in their favor. Succeeding in this, they propose to starve American industry into taking lower wages than the industry of Europe, by still greater tariff restrictions; increasing the power and number of monopoly interests, to thereby enable these monopolists to have profits to themselves and be a stronger political power for perpetuating electoral majorities.

Where will then come in short hours, freedom, prosperity and the elevation of American labor? What will then be the standard of citizenship?

President Washington was very explicit about the principles of taxation, to be forever a part of American institutions, that after taxing imported dispensables or luxuries, only enough so that any more would rather restrict than protect American free trade abroad, to stop before that result, and tax internally home-made spirits. His justification was that imported spirits were under tariff restrictions. There was then no system of the national wealth developed that was held in trust for public uses, subject only to Federal control, as railroads now are, from which revenue could be drawn from a percentage of their receipts, which would be an assessment on the income of capital for public uses. There would then be no oppression of labor, if it owned the profits of its labor as its capital and paid the revenue out of the profits of capital and be thereby free from any charge on the production of this capital for private interests. He believed that this system of tariff restrictions made an equality in right of the wealth affected, in the spirit of voluntary reciprocity and fair dealing, not being fettered, however, by reciprocity treaties or entangling alliances, particularly those that would prevent the exercise of the Monroe doctrine first announced by himself. Thereby in the interests of peace and the brotherhood of man, he would induce other nations to court amity by these overt acts of comity, and thus protect in the paths of peace, from all over and unequal taxation of the wealth of American labor, either at home or abroad, and avoid all spirit of dissatisfaction in the States, with the establishment of the Federal relation, by this protection from all over, unequal, unjust, oppressive taxations and restrictions on American for-

eign free trade, to enable all American industries severally to acquire full value in exchange for the wealth American labor produced, for the profit of producers only, and the wealth of every State community, independently of its neighbor, State industries being thereby free from debt and all obligations for unprofitable penalties to the outside world.

Tariff restrictions, limited to dispensables or luxuries, would only decrease importation of servile labor, also of raw materials. It would increase immigration of co-operative skilled labors to use home raw materials. It would force alien and American monopoly appropriators of American natural monopolies to put them to public co-operative uses, as they could not get bounties out of American labor's capital by withholding them from free trade. They could get profits only by co-operating with American labor. They would get no use of them at all except by co-operation. There would thereby be no income from them except the natural income from use of capital. They would then rely on public uses for profits—not on restrictions of penalties for public uses in which as the party in power now protects them.

Degraded American labor submits to this imposition, and lets them take all it can beyond bare subsistence. When monopolists are forced from their strongholds—one and all—their own profits will be better. This will not be so if only a part of them are abandoned. Fewer would then exercise the imperial taxing power of bounties.

Southern slave-holding monopolists had their monopoly wealth of sugar, hemp, tobacco, &c., produced under a contract with the State, rendering labor a very small

return for the valuable wealth it produced. The present monopolists, nationalizing themselves by denationalizing all the liberties of American citizenship of any value, have their iron, coal, lumber, &c., produced largely by imported, contract, or servile labor. American labor is thereby denaturalized of its political rights that would, if free in the exercise of them, be independent and able to destroy these monopolies.

There is thereunder not so much wealth to buy with at home as if the surplus of raw materials is sent to Europe. It would have more value at home to American labor with the law of the Federal relation for its protection from penalties unviolated—if silver, lead, copper, wheat, cotton, &c., were not embargoed free trade at home—by charges on their original production, and also on manufacturers. Monopolized coal, iron, lumber, &c., prevents American manufacturers being able to merge these products of American labor all together, into manufactures and ships, and with these make direct exchange by American commerce for all imports. American producers of wealth therefore get less of the profits arising from them.

They are debarred making a better, free-trade market at home for all American raw materials, also for foreign exchanges of manufactures thus obtained, and giving more employment to American labor in cities, as well as more wealth, property or capital for that labor, enabling it to be better patron of American farms, mines, railroads, street car roads, telegraphs, telephones, &c., relieving American industry from over and unequal taxation for support of the government under a tariff for revenue out of it, taxing only income from capital for that revenue.

The higher duties are on imported raw materials, the higher they must be on manufactures to prevent importations, and thereby enable—not laborers engaged in manufacturing to profit, but—monopolies of American raw materials to force American manufacturers to pay more profits for these raw materials, and to charge them up to duty line on American co-laborers as consumers, and secure all there is to be had of this kind of protection—in bounties to them—not profits to American labor.

Then the higher the duties on raw materials, the higher they must correspondingly be on manufactures to give employment to American manufactures for home consumption, but not at any profits. This policy does not improve the value of wealth American labor receives. None of the profits received from American consumers through these enhanced prices goes to American labor, but all to monopolies. American labor by this protection of monopolies is left out in the cold. The higher the duties on raw materials, therefore, the richer monopolies get, while labor gets only a bare living, in any such anti-Christian event. American labor cannot get good wages of profits while there are duties on raw materials, and American monopolies are thus protected in getting the profits that are produced by it out of American consumers. No wonder income people live in Europe under an American high tariff, and spend American wealth abroad. They are not to be found fault with, but the law is the cause of this wrong. When an American tariff is on raw materials it is for revenue only, not for protection, therefore as consumers these income people would be caught as American labor is, by staying at home. The law says to any such laggards that do

not escape to Europe, "Stand up and deliver," just as corralled American labor and local capital does.

Cheaper domestic raw materials, on account of less custom duties on the imported, will be made into necessary substitutes, and supplant foreign dispensables or luxuries, because their likes or substitutes are made cheap at home. Income people will then spend their wealth at home. These imported products that would be termed luxuries or dispensables, under a free trade protection of American products—because their substitutes made at home would be cheap in cost, yet furnish good wages to their producers—at once become necessities to American consumers, if bounty charges prevent their being made as cheap at home. Paying duties on them—bounty charges prevailing by tariff on raw materials—is making a tariff for revenue, with no element of protection, except of monopolies. The importation of raw materials benefits the value of other American wealth, only in order to break down bounty prices for American monopolized raw material, to give employment to American industry, in making substitutes for imported manufactures, and not be obliged to send so many crude products out of the country to sell for less than they are worth, to pay for foreign exchanges; at the same time be idle because not using them to manufacture at home, thereby not earning wealth in making manufactures that would exchange for foreign imports, to thus keep out of foreign debt.

One laborer having a monopoly against all other laborers, because they are not present to underbid him, will not under the government's protection of landlord monopolies, by tariff restrictions for revenue, earn as

much for himself as one hundred laborers in the same territory, each for himself, under government protection of the rights of free trade in American wealth. Monopolies get the profits of the one, while the hundred retain the profits to themselves.

The hundred laborers, paying natural free trade cost of raw materials, do not glut the market with the increased products offered therein. They being on an equality, become co-operative exchanges for self-interest, and thereby do increase the value of all, each for himself. Thereby each possesses more wealth to himself, because he has retained the profits. These profits are his capital. With this retention of them, he can make labor co-operate with capital, not be at war with it, as is now the fact. He has his own capital, saving the charge of interest for use of credit, and is self-employed and independent.

Therefore free trade in raw materials is capable of development by industry into a great increase of manufactures for home and foreign exchange, giving operatives or laborers good wages, because the profits of manufacture are shared.

Each producer has more to spare to exchange with other laborers for their products, which they, in this lawfully protected condition, pay for and own free from debt.

The hundred laborers do not by competition put down the value of the wealth they produce and own, because there is an ample market under free trade conditions for all produced, at its full value, but rather increase by co-operation the net value of each several forms, until natural value for all is attained, causing no over-produce-

tion, no over-consumption—no under-production, no under-consumption.

The one laborer can retain only a part of the wealth he produces, because tariff restrictions have put bars, protecting exclusive possession of what are the common sources of wealth free for all labor to use for the public good, for the benefit of private interests only, and thereby bars against American free trade to get anywhere else. The penalties, for violating the unlawful restrictions on this laborer's free trade, come out of his wealth entirely. This is the cause of his poverty, yet is the means of supporting income aristocracy.

There then becomes stagnation in trade, from poverty of profits or wealth in the hands of labor to incite increased production of wealth by less labor through the co-operative use of these profits. Landlord taxation is the sole cause, monopolizing the profits labor produced—by its rent charges—and refusing their use for co-operation, but only to extort profits from labor.

It is not because there are more laborers than necessary to produce the products for the demand, but because monopolies tax away their profits, that forces them to live as non-consumers—only on what poor wages will bring.

American industry is now deprived of the means of producing the profits or wealth with which to exchange for other profits or wealth. Wealth will not be produced without demand. Demand will not be adequate without there are free trade profits—that is, they are retained by the labor producing them to use and thereby make the demand.

The monopolist of natural resources is not anxious to

force production beyond home wants until wages of American labor get lower still, and it will do without carpets on the floors of its tenement home, &c., because that would force down bounty prices, consequently landlord bounty rents. If to an export basis, these natural resources would be without bounty profits. This would bring all raw materials for home consumption to the same level of prices. Art would then flourish in America, and income people of the world would visit America to see its treasures of co-operative wealth and industrial greatness. American income people, not forced to expatriation by penalty charges on cost of living, would spend their income at home, possessing American art treasures of wealth.

The monopolist, with traditional rather than educational preferences, prefers high tariffs to secure his wealth by bounties exacted out of the oppressions of labor, preferring no foreign intercourse, except as he visits abroad, but to live in such barbarous magnificence as servile conditions of industry generate. The present laws for enforcing penalties out of American labor as fast as the profits on its products can be available, makes it pay better to do nothing but become from the stage of a law protected monopolist, a full fledged bond-holder, by securing bonds for greenbacks.

This robbery among others is seen exemplified in the agricultural interests in this fashion. After a generation of toil, the farmers who once owned surplus capital invested in American industries, have worked hard, having denied themselves too much for their own good, and having suffered too much in the degradation of their family prospects to a servile, peasantry condition, have

not even paid expenses, but have been obliged to mortgage their natural monopolies and wealth of improvements to balance their expense accounts, after selling all their farm produce below value, because of a taxed-trade, limited home market.

There is no good reason why a farmer who is careful in using his natural monopolies that the privileges of American citizenship has blessed him with, should not have peace and plenty. His present misfortune is, that after having mortgaged all his wealth, he is not able to pay the penalties of usury on the bonds he has executed. If not mortgaged for private debts, he is still unable to pay carrying charges, costing enough out of his wealth to support a foreign income aristocracy, that owns the bonds on the railroads, the party in power impoverished him into selling.

Later on—under present rule over political rights, which prevents American farm produce from being marketable at home, for a demand to be merged into manufactures to exchange for imported tea, coffee, &c., to thereby have these at less cost of American wheat, cotton, &c., than the present tariff restrictions on American free trade for revenue only permits, American farming interests will be mere tenantry. Idle income people as a perpetual political condition will be living on their labor. Themselves will be getting only very poor wages, no better than those provided for tillers of the soil in Europe.

This noble industry is already so degraded, that it is growing weaker under its burdens, until exhaustion and depopulation are occurring, as witness Vermont and New Hampshire. The conditions are spreading, and result as in Ireland—more pastures—more preserves for

income aristocracy, with less resident population, and that dependent on industry only because starved out of its profits, a migration to new countries, or those like Africa where the conqueror rules. The political causes are the same in all countries that produce these results—monopoly power controlling the production of wealth.

The natural dignity, obeying Creative law, of the labor or industry of agriculture, pervaded the whole being of Horatio Seymour, implying education, honor and prosperity. He was not permitted to see it in his day, because party policies, in which the wealth of New York was not protected but devastated by political powers at Washington to suit the demands of private interests or monopolies prevailed to such an extent as to produce a rupture between New York and the Federal relation, by New York declining to be represented as a State, or be a party to devastation of the national wealth the people had produced for their own comfort, by appropriation to support of ruling income classes, that have only unlawful being where American institutions prevail.

The wealth of improvements, on American natural monopolies, to enable American labor to accumulate wealth from these sources, consisting of manufactories, mines, railroads, canals, cities, harbors, &c., that might also be wealth of dignity, honor and prosperity to this labor's family estate of New York among all the other States, have been devastated for the same treasonable purposes by the party in power.

American labor having produced and possessed this national wealth, under guardianship of State's conservation for the great co-operative interests of the whole, has been obliged to bond and mortgage it all, under a

contract to provide a perpetual debt of interest to a ruling income class. The powers at Washington say it must be so, and control the wealth of the States to have it so. A contingent in this State protests and says this must not be. Those of this State enjoying the spoils of office, aid this servile condition, even to drumming in the venal vote in Presidential elections. Estates of the Astors are as much bonded as the one estate to hold the family together, compelling higher rents, with no power of the possessors to prevent. The costs all come out of the savings of American labor, and go through the hands of the Astors, for one instance, to pay bounties to monopolies, which have made their improvements cost so much.

The producers of this wealth so bonded, see it growing into less value every year to them. It is more estranged from them. It is made to tower over and frown on them—the office holders, the retainers of monopolies, being the army to carry out American insolvency and evictions. The real value of wealth in the State of New York is becoming absolutely nil to American labor producing it, the monopolist, as a scalper on poor labor's necessities—obliging poor, struggling American labor to pawn all its valuables for present needs—taking it all—Pharao buying Israel.

There is another political result. A farmer may have his improvements out of private debt, as well as the Astors. Like them, he cannot prosper under a government whose oppressions cause any portion of his neighbor's wealth to be sold out to monopolists. These improvements are then bought far below their legal tender value, as penalties for debt. How can the farmer have

profits for use of his wealth of natural monopolies and improvements, when the monopolist has been able to buy his neighbor's farm below cost as a penalty for a mortgage debt. The monopolist's investment is less, therefore he can get good profits at selling his produce at less profits than his neighbor who has been enabled to keep out of debt by denying himself everything he could not pay for out of his poor wages, no matter how much wrong the government has done him by forcing this parsimony. He must then do as his neighboring tenant does, take only subsistence for his labor.

The value of American wealth to its producers—not monopolies—after all, is determined by the fact of how much it is over and unequally taxed in cost of production out of its profits for penalties or bounties to support an income aristocracy founded on monopolies. Its value is not determined at all, as some suppose, by the measure of its protection as monopolies, nor how cheap a servile labor may be forced to work in America—even having the whole free trade of the home market. The law not protecting all labor producing wealth from penalties, those getting the penalties or bounties, get all the profits. The others get all the losses. The former owns the capital of the nation doing nothing. The latter is simply a toiler, having no capital. He has parted with his profits or capital for penalties or bounties.

The policy of the party in power says he must submit, and his children be still more degraded.

Federal institutions would protect him, but he ignorantly trusts political power to a party that violates his privileges under the law. If it only pays the Presidential campaign expenses, he appears to be satisfied, and says,

give me National instead of State bank currency—and does not think further—that his own greenback currency is better. He does not apprehend that the currency made by the whole nation on its guarantee, and is paid for, is better than that made by protected monopolies, costing usury for its use. The former enables him to retain profits as his own wealth or capital. The latter currency enables the monopolies, the party in power has established, to rob him of his profits, leaving him only poor wages.

Let the American laborer settle this question in his own favor, instead of supporting political parties bent on the spoils of office. He will then vote for that political party of his own make-up, which will protect the rights of his citizenship. Then there will be neither wealth produced for export, nor for domestic uses, that will not pay him profits, to be his own wealth, beyond what they cost him to produce, whether from farm, mine, quarries, brick yards, manufactory, city, harbor, railroad, telegraph, telephone, street railroad, printing plant, and every conceivable investment.

No wonder that the monopoly political parties of Europe and Canada were in sympathy with the landlord monopoly power of the South in the late American civil war. They preferred a rule of monopoly in form of slavery, together with free trade under Cobden Club principles, than an American free-trade industry that would have no equal free-trade exchanges with any monopoly commerce dealing only in the products of servile labor.

These historic facts explain why the party in power has the best wishes of the monopoly party of Canada, as

well as the British foreign commerce monopoly Cobden Club party. The American party of monopoly is cajoled in Europe, because its policy kills all American foreign competition in Cobden Club free trade with neutral nations. It forces American labor, because not manufacturing for export, to raise a surplus of raw materials with which to buy its foreign exchanges.

When any swaggering American politician "does Europe," he is told how much this nation is admired. Europe is wonderfully impressed with the energy of American industry, which is capable of supporting such a large affluent class in Europe by the profits it produces, while incidentally earning itself a poor subsistence.

At this praise, in which contempt is poorly concealed, American labor comes out of its shop into the street in its leather apron, its breath rank with dyspepsia from degrading toil, and shouts applause in ignorant delight.

It makes no difference that Mr. Gladstone has been frank enough in the abundance of his real love for what he believes is Christian America, to explain the violation of the rights of free trade inflicted on American liberty.

He has, however, in the greatest frankness, submitted facts in the spirit of contemplating a generous rivalry of competition for foreign trade—American manufactures being the factor—by expecting the intelligence of the American people will, with true Yankee sagacity, read between the lines, that their only course to secure the free trade for American manufactures at home and abroad, is to boot the present political party out of the back door at Washington, and install new conservitors of their heritage of freedom for labor into power.

Monopolists only wish that American industry might be as wise as gods in the knowledge of producing the greatest amount of wealth by labor-saving devices, even establishing technical schools therefor. It wishes it to be blind however, as to its political rights to obtain profits in a free-trade exchange for those it produces, yet having carpets on its floors, &c., for Presidential campaign purposes only, so that they might crow over the "softer snap" they have on an industry, that is capable of producing, for them, more wealth than European industry for the same labor; requiring European monopolists to feed and clothe more heads of population, thereby making less net profit out of their servile industry. The same as slave owners would have been compelled to do, to the extent of making slave labor unprofitable, compared with Northern labor, if it had not been servile to paying bounties to Southern monopolists, so its Northern politicians could hold Federal offices. New York labor is paying its profits in bounties now, so that her politicians may hold Federal offices. Her labor is therefore getting no profits.

Poor, pagan, long-eared, degraded American industry that cannot see through a millstone after even Mr. Gladstone has, with his political axe, made the hole still larger, wiping out the cobwebs monopolists have employed their lackeys in power to so industriously cover over it.

Is it possible American citizenship will never redeem itself into the rights it has lost? That it will voluntarily, for a poor, servile-labor price, deliver its own offspring, of coming generations, into the bondage of perpetual debt, periodically laying down its profits as tribute to

support an income aristocracy—not providing for its own household, being worse than an infidel—denying its faith in American institutions? What is the use of public schools and temporal religious establishments, when monopolies degrade American citizenship faster than these institutions can reclaim it?

Where tariff restrictions are laid on products of any kind that prevents American wealth attaining full free-trade value at home and abroad, this is a wrong such has ever been practiced to force wealth from industry without equivalent exchange for revenue only, with which to carry on wars, against the interest of the supporters of the State—the industrial classes—for the spoils of office, and for luxurious dissipations of a pagan sort abroad, consuming dispensables or luxuries.

This impoverished industry suffers from it, even with all its labor-saving devices, that enable it to produce so many more products, suitable for its comfort and good, for so little labor, but which it must thereby be forced to part with, to support an hydra-headed income aristocracy, having its body in Europe with one head. The other head is in America, to see that the political party in power does fealty to its master.

It is impossible for American industry to have free trade in its domestic exchanges, by relief from all monopoly of raw materials, unless there at once becomes an export free trade for American manufactures all over the globe, to exchange in abundance for the wants of elevated, educated, refined, moral and religious American citizenship, using American ships as boards of trade.

It breaks down landlord monopolies and aristocracies of income without production, and effectually establishes

an era of good civil service by the facilities for public political virtue it affords, and for civil service reform, from the fact of the moral and industrial elevation of the people. The present civil service law must necessarily be ineffectual, like the silver coinage act, the inter-State commerce law, laws against trusts, and the absence of a bankrupt law as part of the constitution to be always in force. These are all used by monopolies, to divert from the real causes that call for the use of these counter evils. Why not cut out the mistletoe growth of monopoly, rather than make it languish by bleeding the tree of its support at the roots?

The one absolute Federal duty, for all the sufferings inflicted on American labor is, the abolishment of monopolies, by not supporting them.

Hamilton and Jefferson agreed on the question of protection, that American laborers of all kinds, including manufacturers, must be untaxed in cost of production for support of aristocracy by permitting no monopoly of any American raw materials. They aimed thereby to protect all alike—American products in being good wages because costing less labor to produce them. The exception of wool was a measure of safety, to provide the then deficiency of war equipment. It was a pure bounty, for no other reason than to incite to the production of cleared land for pasturage, by a uniform assessment for public needs. As soon as supply overtook demand, it was believed that producing the wool would pay as well as any other products, if not taxed in cost of production for private gain.

Industry being free, there would be no necessity to overproduce. The political condition of debt for inter-

est as a perpetual charge on the wealth of labor, absorbing its profits, always forces a production of a surplus, without demand—of crude products for export only.

The vicious practice of making this original precedent of protection to wool the reason for protecting private instead of public interests, was not intended or even entertained.

It was later on conceded to the monopoly products of slavery, among others, solely as a compromise of private interests, to get electoral majorities in favor of protecting manufacturers, as the great desideratum.

If Europe's labor—although it may not have ample natural exchanges for the American States—grows richer by being freed from charges for support of income classes of a kind that restricts labor, it will be better able to exchange with American labor, even if the balance of its exchanges be money, because it finds more natural exchanges with the tropics and Asia for its other forms of wealth.

This free trade condition of Europe would be more profitable for America than her present condition of protection of monopolies, with production taxed for revenue only. If America continues her present tariff and monopoly system of taxing her own labor for other than public uses, European exchanges will then go to other nations, or else be concentrated at home, unless loaning to draw income from America. The same with Canada and Mexico industries. The richer they get, the better it might be for American labor.

Germany by her politico-commercial union of all the industries of her many states and conditions into one great co-operative combine, eliminating them from their

over and unequal taxation by employing the agency or office of one Federal government, is demonstrating that she can produce among the most valuable foreign exchanges of manufactures of any nation. She pays the world with these for all her imported products, including gold and silver, which she has to acquire from abroad. She thereby gives employment to her own labor in cities, which otherwise would be idle, and poor patrons of the products of farms, mines, quarries, harbors, cities, manufactories and public improvements.

From past ages of political anarchy or disunion, with its lack of co-operation, consequent taxation by wars, customs and lordships or land monopolies, which have been the crucible that has developed German genius, her people have been debased, and the profits of their wealth devastated, leaving her labor poor. Even now there are produced cheap hand-labor products from lack of profits or capital, but this era of German industry is passing away.

Germany by her present comprehensive development of profits or capital in the hands of her industry, because suffering less bounty charges, also her development towards the protection of foreign free trade for her manufactures by relieving them from the shackles of monopolies entailed from the past, as fast as permissable without disturbing the equilibrium of her trade balances, is improving her natural resources with labor-saving facilities every year. She is thereby making her export products harder competitors in the neutral markets of the world.

Her imperial, cardinal policy of protection of the profits of wages in the hands of her industry, is by dis-

mantling long-established political landlord monopolies, and absorbing monopolies of patents. This policy will check rise in prices of products, for the purpose of their yielding bounties, rather than profits to labor, with the increased demand for their use, caused by their regenerated condition to the present free-trade status, and labor-saving means for their production, into more valuable wealth. Germany is rather getting out of debt than otherwise, although this is not shown in her budget of public expenses, yet she is producing a large surplus of wealth to loan other nations, and investing in foreign industries, singly and in colonies.

American aristocracy of monopoly—exercising itself in harmony with the landlord and money-of-nations-reserve monopolies of Europe—is doing all it can to increase the lien on American wealth, to draw support thereby to the establishment of an aristocracy of income in Europe. This is much to the interference of the governments of Europe, including Russia, in their reforms, as it furnishes a bad precedent for relieving the production of their wealth from over and unequal taxation.

Monopolies are the fundamental establishments of European constitutions, fastened on them in past ages. These have to be dealt with, as having a legal status that cannot be removed without compensation. Their acquisitions of wealth and power by their incomes received from all the Americas, make them more powerful and harder for the monarchies, having in trust the protection and justice due the producers of wealth, to abate them.

Every State must be protected in the natural monopoly of its location. The advantages of geographical po-

sition pertained to New York so much, that her citizens who favored the Erie canal feared the Federal relation, lest it become imperial. They preferred a free State, with no entangling alliances the Federal relation might produce, with untrammelled opportunity to open up commerce by water ways from the center of the continent—making New York city a free-trade port of entry for the commerce of the world—the Carthage, Venice, Hamburg, London of the new era. We see the fears of the friends of the labor of New York verified by the building up of an imperial power at Washington, which annuls the right of all American labor to its own commerce and profits, and flings the threat in the face of New York industry that Washington shall control the wealth it produces.

But for such a policy of destruction of Federal rights and co-operation, there must and would be several times the wealth owned by New York labor, paying profits. Every farmer, manufacturer, canal and railroad laborer would be richer. What there is, is bonded for debt. Hers should be free-trade wealth—from all charges of perpetual debt of interest, to be produced by this labor as positive penalty for presuming to own it.

There is not a cent owned by the citizenship of New York that does not contribute its equal percentage to the payment of the perpetual debt of usury for support of alien, income aristocracies.

Every State must be protected, according to the principles of the Federal constitution, in her sovereign, primary policy of acquiring enough of naturally-distributed wealth in every form and variety necessary for the public good, by imperially protecting the citizen in all

the natural rights that the Federal relation agrees to protect him in.

States must not be subjected to the imperial interests of monopolies at Washington, beyond their power of redress. They must not suffer depreciation of wealth without equivalent, through political causes, that their vote can correct. They must have a race, free for all, from unfair inequality for wealth and prosperity without the government putting a premium on monopoly.

If States are absolutely free in their rights of wealth, if they have free trade to get equivalent for the fruits of their labor, there will then be a generous emulation to secure the educated classes in skilled, scientific and labor-saving industry, for population—rather than mere tenantry-toilers—together with the greatest possible share of the prosperity that free wealth endows.

Each State, in electing its Federal representatives, must be free from obstructions made by incumbent, Federal, electoral majorities. These must not buy the venal vote in close contests. Every State's needs and interests must be protected from devastation by party rule at Washington. The interest of some must not be sacrificed for the purpose of preserving a national organization of electoral majority party combinations, armed with an iron-clad policy, to not have the line of the onslaught for spoils of office broken, as was done in Webster's time, by his voting to sacrifice New England's foreign commerce, under the Henry Clay system of monopoly protection. The electoral majority which he supported was wholly dependent on representation of the amalgamation of local monopoly interests. The great public interests had no majority representation.

The policy of the electoral majority was to tax the public interests, by restrictions on American free trade that would force her own labor to pay penalties to enrich a ruling class.

To protect the labor of the States in acquiring wealth, influences beyond their limits through the contrivances of political organizations made up at Washington, must not control State elections of their representatives in the Federal relation. With conditions of Federal political organizations made up of local policies, at variance with the Federal principles of co-operation of all the industries of the several States, political preferment will be a power to get State's representation against her own and the public interests—pledged to a policy against her own benefits of co-operation, by a vicious substitute, drawing her wealth to other States, not to benefit but enslave the labor there, for interests not in harmony with her ambition to have all her society well provided, and all the public and private wealth free from debt—those conditions that will best assist the emancipation of man from all vice.

With these conditions of Federal party organizations, political preferment will be a power to get a State's representation pledged to a policy against her own equal rights.

Pennsylvania monopolists, of her natural resources, having a private interest for Federal legislation, that will enable them to draw bounties from the public interests, produced only by labor's toil, might be able by a bare majority, to secure tariff restrictions on imported raw materials, that are absolutely free trade necessities to give employment to American industry, if it is to have

profits for its labor by having a foreign market for its manufactures. Penalties on the use of those imported, and bounties on the use of those from American natural resources would then tax profits away from American labor. New York labor would thereby be impoverished from need of those raw materials or their substitutes that are most suitable for use of her industry, without an adequate supply of which her citizenship must be restricted in their production of wealth. Bounties to Pennsylvania landlord monopolies can tax, but never improve the value of the wealth possessed by New York industry.

They will rather impoverish the industry of New York by abstracting its wealth to pay these bounties and make Pennsylvania labor only servile in producing raw materials. The citizenship of both States will become thereby servile and poor. New York industry will possess so few profits as capital that it cannot manufacture, by a co-operation of labor with its own capital, the products of a free foreign trade. Neither can it afford to borrow the necessary capital, to replace that delivered as bounties to monopolies, pay interest thereon, at the same time pay these bounties, and still export its manufactures.

The power of New York for co-operation, to enable her industry to make better, more wealth for less labor, and thereby still have good profits with prices cheap enough for them to have foreign free trade, rendering her industry co-operative with those of all the other States of the federation, by furnishing them their imported necessities of tea, coffee, rubber, hides, &c., cheaper, co-operating thereby in making the wealth of

all American industry better by its greater purchasing power of foreign subsistence, can be withheld by the control of the Federal government, in hands of political parties that only favor private interests. This power for mutual protection by co-operation, is now supplanted by the policy of protecting private interest, secured by the venal vote as an electoral majority. This political insurgency is intended to be a fixture of perpetual succession, it being established by first controlling the States, through distribution of the Federal spoils of office, to suit Federal politico-party plans, against securing a State majority for an independent State labor policy, to save the State's wealth to its own labor—from the devastation of the plunderer, armed with mandates from Washington.

An early instance occurred, when Daniel Webster was compelled, under the lash of party whip at Washington, to vote for the so-called "American system" of protection of monopolies, granting them power to tax profits out of American labor to benefit private interests, made a successful political power by the alliance of the monopoly slave interests under Calhoun with land-grab, public-improvements, irredeemable paper currency of exchange, and a motley mess of other forms of taxing the free-trade rights of American wealth to thereby rob profits and leave American labor poor, under the guise of protecting products from outside competition, and giving the people employment with more wealth.

It did not protect from outside competition of contract or serf labor, offering to work for low wages, which kept immigrating to America only to be employed by monopolies that withheld raw materials and deprived

American labor of good wages. This principle of trade restrictions on American labor's free use of its own wealth was never intended to elevate, but only degrade it, and thereby elevate an income aristocracy at cost of labor's degradation.

How many laborers having no sources of wealth except their hands directed by skilled knowledge, cravenly, servilely, ignorantly vote for the political establishment of this condition, believing it designed to give them employment at good wages. It was designed to leave them dependent on monopolies for employment, at only poor wages. To debar from all employment except such as monopolies only would provide at poor wages. There was provided no other conditions of employment. The free conditions the people possessed by virtue of the Federal relation were crushed out by this political monopoly establishment.

What made things worse was, that this condition created a competition of labor against itself. The production of wealth on account of restrictions in trade with penalties, alone forced two employees to run after one employer, to make the few products needed for the home market. For the same reason, capital in the same line of production competing to secure placing the few products that could be marketed at home, cut prices to secure trade. It did not secure any more trade because of the cut, but did destroy the profits of American capital and prevented there being any profits to the labor co-operating to make these products. This caused the importation of servile labor to meet the cuts capital was forced to make.

Another great adjunct to tariff taxation at that time

was the currency of monopolies of credit, to be used for money under State laws, and that other great tax on American wealth, the Bank of the United States' issues of credit.

The same conditions prevail to-day, and are yielding the same fruits, only they are not yet so apparent, because of the great production of wealth by means of labor-saving devices. During periodical "round ups" in insolvency it will appear that American wealth belongs to aliens, American labor being merely the cow-boys to brand the stock.

Over and unequal taxation by tariff for revenue, only out of the profits of labor, instead of the profits of capital, for the incidental object of protecting landlord monopolies in their power of robbing American labor for private interests only, has been the first and only cause of American poverty-stricken labor, financial convulsions, panics and general insolvency. It has been the generator of credit for currency that supplanted the legal unit of measure of values. The popular error instilled by monopoly demagogues into the minds of American labor has been that free trade by low tariffs was the great and only cause. No doubt free trade under Cobden Club principles would have produced much the same results of poverty of labor as the present political policy.

The difference between high and low tariffs, they nearly always being too much in favor of protecting American landlord monopolies, has been that there was more foreign commerce by American industry under low tariffs and an early surplus of raw materials that monopolies could not then control, that brought national

wealth to America, when American profits were great and living cheap. It was a policy that cemented the federation, which was to have great wealth attend American labor, and cheap living make only a small charge on that wealth, so that accumulations might increase. The present policy of high tariffs is small wealth for labor and high cost of living.

These facts also refute statements about excessive importations of manufactures—following the periods recording American industrial insolvency, even to paralysis, that these events occurred because of low tariffs, which closed American manufactures. Even nominally low tariffs have always been too much protective of monopolies of natural resources, and these have closed manufactories, but not so much as high tariffs.

There was in fact too much tariff and other restrictions on the free trade in American wealth, including manufactures, that destroyed their production, because the condition yielded all the profits to monopoly or speculation, leaving the poorest kind of profits to American producers—so poor they could not live on them, hence restrictions were removed to revive industry. Manufacturing was suspended by poverty of American wealth from high tariffs.

Following these periods of business stagnation under high tariffs, by which American manufactories were closed, importations of manufactures only occurred, because impoverished industry could buy them on time, until manufactures and all other industries would revive under low tariffs, with temporary, voluntary, yielding claim for bounties, which revivals have been, however, hindered by bad paper currency. These excessive im-

portations have been under the delusion that an era of Cobden Club free trade principles had begun in America. The American mind has never accepted this as a logic of facts, to be deducted from its purposes of free trade, which was of quite a different nature.

Webster admitted in fact, although voting with a party whose principles ignored State rights, that its policy would destroy New England's free trade, and with it her foreign commerce. Since it was, however, to be a policy of Federal partisanship, he would claim for New England all the taxing power he could for her share, in lieu of the restrictions on her foreign commerce.

Webster virtually admitted that he would go with the crowd in their "mad dissipation," even if every man voted to make a monopoly of the products of his own plantation, farm and mine, each voting for the other landlord's privilege of securing bounties by monopolies out of American labor, to get in return his vote, to serve him the same purpose, well knowing that this would destroy all manufactures, except for home use.

Labor would be thereby thrown out of employment—except to produce an abnormal surplus of raw materials to go abroad to pay for foreign necessary exchanges, because there could be no manufactures of them to export. The wealth of American labor in form of cities and public improvements was to be sacrificed by being bonded to perpetual debt of interest to support income ruling classes, and thereby their owners, having no wealth at their command after these charges of interest were paid, became poor patrons of farms, mines and railroads, but built up a rude magnificence of a landlord aristocracy and a grosser, craven commercial monopoly,

like the present condition of the society of Great Britain.

Webster would go so far as to keep that political organization of local political monopolies in power, that could so sacrifice the wealth of New England.

He had Presidential hopes in that party. From this cause, the Federal check on the free-trade, foreign-commerce liberties of New England have imposed untold wrongs on her labor ever since. They have caused a constrained relation to the Federal union—hampering the spirit of her people—breeding extraordinary characteristics for self-preservation—checking the full power of her mighty Christian educational development—forcing an abnormal emigration West—an involuntary expatriation—leaving her hills and valleys to be vacated, or else peopled by a too rapid immigration from countries that had not educated their people up to the use of liberty that Christian, original New England would have made, if untrammelled in the Federal rights of her wealth to free trade for her natural development.

The industrial revolution following the establishment of the Henry Clay system of industry could not survive the freer trade of the world in competition. Industry grew poorer in profits, consuming all and then getting into debt for living, with no change in the laws.

It is the same now. It leaves a very few rich, but the great mass of labor in this country—which flows with milk and honey out of its natural resources of wealth, rich in natural, geographical monopolies—struggling against avarice, oppression and poverty, operating with vice to assist degradation running riot with idleness.

During the Henry Clay system of protection in the history of this government, the value of monopolies have

gone up, and wealth—measured by the gold standard of money—has gone down to nothing. The credit currency to exchange them, was worth nothing. Industry had no money with which to absorb this wealth, although so far below natural value and cost of reproduction. There came always periodical ends of this much-vaunted, spread-eagle-oratory system. The reasons are poorly understood to-day. Monopoly still controls at Washington too much to permit of the people being well informed on all the facts.

Another instance of political party's imperial interference by monopoly at Washington with a State's policy occurred during President Garfield's term. It has always been a part of the common, unwritten law of the Federal government that the influence of its co-ordinate branches are made to be a check on one another, in their ambition for political preferment, in order to prevent undue influence over the State's representatives at Washington, such as might militate against preserving the sources of power in the States, rather than have them transferred to Washington.

The Senators of New York were not consulted in making the Federal appointments, according to the rules of courtesy established in the spirit of the unwritten law inaugurated by President Washington. Senators Conkling and Platt resigned their trust to the State, with their seats in the United States Senate, rather than be parties to the breaking down of the safeguards against political party control from Washington, of organizations in this State, instead of her own people ruling it, for the preservation of her own rights, and those of every other State in the Federal relation—her own home rule—her

autonomy as a sovereign State, having well-defined rights which the Federal administration was bound to recognize ; the necessary safeguard against merging the responsibility of the Federal relation into an irresponsible, alien, imperial-power rule emanating from Washington.

We have an example in Webster's time of the benefits of even a partial protection of American wealth in American industry's own right by extending its market to where there was a natural demand for American products. It secured a free trade for them abroad. This was accomplished by having less bounties on necessities for employment, and by a fiscal policy of using legal-tender currency for government's business, thereby bringing it into more general use by the people. It was a time of great complaint, issuing from Washington, because speculation suffered, but there was great satisfaction expressed by American industry.

If industry had suffered, the complaint would have been from the country. Any complaint that did come from the country was the injury industry suffered from previous causes, which were very much misrepresented in that day, to get legislation favoring private at expense of public interests.

Industry flourished as never before in America. Exports at that time were manufactures in a greater ratio. This was by an American foreign free trade, also an American foreign commerce between neutral nations, whose industries were too degraded through taxation of the profits of labor by ruling classes to have any foreign commerce. Foreign merchants did not supercede American free trade in making American foreign exchanges.

American manufactures co-operated with American ships, and with American labor, by employing them to make their foreign exchanges, which could then compete with the world. The trade was engineered by aggressive American free traders, in rakish American craft, scudding ahead of all commerce, maintaining their sailors' rights—making theirs the most popular commerce of the globe. They feared nothing human. They were free men and therefore free traders. They had a man at the head of State who backed them up with all the protection he could afford, although he was baffled by monopoly schemes and combinations that are historical. Foreign traders could not compete, because there was a demand for American free labor products that were fast making American free traders the world's exchangers. The tubs of servile industry, whose intelligence was suppressed, were left behind.

This American foreign commerce by American labor—not monopoly—was getting it rich and independent of paying interest for gain of European monopoly capital. It did not need to do a credit business. This foreign free trade paid up private and public foreign debts and had credit to sell. It had good American manufactures for exchanges, and American industry received a larger share of profits, although at no time since the settlement of America has labor secured all the profits that are its due, by virtue of the Federal relation. European traditions of land tenure have prevailed too much.

Monopoly grumbled and demanded Federal protection, because its schemes of speculation lagged during these times. It did not rob the people of enough of their profits to suit private interests.

It finally got the tariff changed so that the landlord interests, including the Southern slave oligarchy, could appropriate more of the profits of American industry to be the capital of these landlords, while labor had nothing, because the government appropriated all its profits or savings to this monopoly interest.

This monopoly protection resulted that the profits of American industry became so poor that there were none left, and it got into debt for bounties and penalties of interest for use of credit with which to make its exchanges. It was compelled to stop producing manufactures except for the home demand, but not even enough for home use. It was the same as to-day. Take any class of manufactures. They are taxed out of making enough for home use. After paying tariff-restriction bounties with the one hand to landlord monopolies, and penalties for use of credit with the other, and tariff penalties on subsistence with both, their expenses leave them only poor profits. It is the same with the manufacture of ships. It is subject to the same charges for private interests.

It is impossible for ships to earn profits. They have to fight private competition of one another in their limited home market.

The sweat of the brow of American labor alone provides all these fraudulent, imperial establishments of ruling classes their only support. American labor walks between the scourging whips of its tax gatherers, besides being forced onto one in the front, whose every blow draws blood from its arteries, until it falls down periodically exhausted. Those of the rising generation born to this condition as second nature, take up the load.

So the world of toil moves along, drawing its lumbering coach loaded down with monopolies.

If American labor is to have any wealth, it is by toil and denial of the use of even necessities that would save it from degradation. Physical, intellectual and religious nourishment are absolutely denied American labor, in its present political conditions of servility. There is no element of political freedom or profit in American labor. Every American who dares, tries speculation and cringes from labor with its poor rewards, as the only conditions the law permits.

Take American shoes for an example. American labor gets the same poor profits in making any other products. What can be done with shoes? They are restricted from having any but a home market, and are therefore forced to be at war with each other. Capital is against capital of shoes, fighting for profits that are the political right of American capital without fighting for them. Each oppressing the other in helping itself. The imperial power—supplanting co-operative American institutions—of the government over all the products that enter into the cost of their production, is a whip of torture to compel them to pay bounties. These shoes must not dare to find a market for themselves abroad. The government gives them no favors at home, but only robs them in penalties. With the wand of the law, poor, servile, degraded American labor, with the shoe in its hand it has made to provide bread for its family, sneaking out to sea to sell it, is intercepted by custom officers to tax the subsistence he brought back for his family, together with a supply of raw materials to make more.

The present tariff for revenue loads American labor

with burdens, and uses the fear of them as a cudgel to keep it at home, where it can be compelled to drop its profits into the hands of monopolies. The monopoly interests at Washington deny the appeals of the States, that their industries be relieved from the oppressions of the Federal government, causing their labor to toil so hard and have so little for it.

The Federal government is in the hands of its enemies, and therefore cannot exercise the protecting power it was created to enforce. It declares that shoes produced by servile foreign labor shall have the free trade of all the foreign markets among neutral nations. It forbids American labor its political rights to sell the products of its labor, its shoes in the foreign markets, unless it will be satisfied with poor rewards of itself. It must forfeit its liberties. Developed, educated, skilled-labor American shoes, must pay the Federal tariff penalties, and then bounties to American monopolies, these being considered by the enemies of American institutions—the party in power—as favorites or objects of more consideration than the protection of American labor in the rights due its products, that the profits be inseparable from them.

The government denies the political privilege of the labor producing shoes of helping to increase its fellow laborer's products, by paying for foreign exchange in such a way as to have imported necessities of tea, coffee, &c., cheaper, and thereby have a free trade foreign market for shoes, securing them in being better products, yet by their co-operation helping to make all other American wealth more valuable, such as wheat, cotton, silver, manufactures, railroads, cities, harbors, &c., be-

cause the profits of their use will buy more—by free trade in shoes—of foreign exchanges.

The policy of the party in power, in denying this right of one industry co-operating to help elevate all others, as being the object of the Federal relation, is laughed at by monopolies. When American industry asks paternal bread, it is given a stone. For daring to ask its rights, only heavier burdens are laid on it. It is denied right to conquer its own foreign free trade, and support its own family relation in freedom, but must have nothing, in order that the expenses of the toggery of an idle class shall be provided by its wages. The basis on which this class is built, is landlord monopoly. The government says, these shoes may be a monopoly against foreign shoes at home on only one condition. This is, that American laborers making shoes, to recoup the damages done through the government's power, must rob American consumers by overcharges, if they expect themselves to ever have any good, paying profits. They must have no foreign free trade. They must stay at home, because monopolies of the sources of the wealth of American labor are the government agencies to rule over them. American monopolies cannot exact penalties at every turn, if these American shoes should escape the limits of monopoly jurisdiction, by having a foreign free trade of their own.

The American laborer has no free trade, because he is denied those political rights that are his necessities if he is to have the foreign market. Therefore the American consumer is not protected. He is not considered as having any rights of representation in American politics. American institutions made for his protection are

set at naught. Monopolies claim the right to prescribe the terms on which he shall live under American institutions. He must expatriate himself to get protection.

The part of the conspiracy confining their exchanges to the home market is, that they can be plucked of their profits for private uses. Hence they are not permitted to leave home and bring foreign wealth back. If foreign shoes come in, the government would appropriate profits of consumers also, so all must be made at home that is possible, not to protect American labor, but because producers will thereby pay more of the profits of their labor into monopolies hands and less to the government, the government customs being held up as a warning in order that monopolies may get more out of the profits of American labor. Cobden may peak in with just enough shoes to scare American operatives, no more.

The party in power is merciless. It says American labor may sink or swim, but must pay its load of taxation any way. This is the way it protects those who makes shoes.

This does not profit the manufacturer of American shoes, because no matter how cheap he buys those surplus raw materials, that are not monopolized like wheat, cheese, &c., he is obliged to pay enough more for his other raw materials that are monopolies, so that he cannot possibly have good profits to himself, since supply is greater than demand. He will simply put down the price of shoes to that extent, getting for himself only poor profits, after paying poor wages to the producer of surplus raw materials, and the balance of his profits for bounties.

There is another factor liable to intervene, that will

redound still more against the American manufacturing producer and consumer. A monopoly of credit currency exists, made plenty or scarce to suit private interests, that varies the measure of values of all products of American labor, in the interest of monopoly against industry, so that the law of supply and demand is set at naught. This currency of credit is used to buy up American necessities at below value, to settle the debts of American labor producing them, and then be held up in prices to American consumers high enough to get the profits of their labor also. No wonder income people are forced to live abroad. The law gives them no other course, where they are rich enough to protect themselves.

Although in President Jackson's time, American manufactures were made for a demand beyond home needs, yet they did not depreciate in value on this account, because there was a good market for them abroad. They not only improved their value by free foreign trade, but redounded and improved home wages. Other nations were willing to pay American industry necessary products for the surplus manufactures it produced, in competition with cheap-labor European manufactures and even Chinese manufactures.

There was then some other cause besides the wages of operatives, that made American manufactures undersell European, and still paid American manufacturers good profits after higher wages were paid to operatives. They must have had less other charges than European manufacturers, to come out of them without equivalent. It was solely because of too many raw materials to make a monopoly of them. The conditions made the demand.

The policy of President Jackson, in harmony with the Federal relation, was fettered, however, in those days, by the monopoly power of slavery, which was a sectional, territorial, imperial, monopoly power, sufficient to defeat complete emancipation of any electoral-majority, political-party combination, from its baneful influence. This arrogant monopoly always demanded over and unequal taxation of other American products, to protect its own landlord oligarchy of natural resources in being monopolies, as the condition of its electoral-majority party alliance, under the plea of protecting the rights of the States—in fact taxing those rights. No political party combination of sectional interests could exist as an electoral majority in that day, that did not concede this trespass on the Federal protection of wealth—the rights due the States thereunder—to the slave-power monopoly of the national sources of wealth in the Southern States. Henry Clay conceded it, to carry out his other plans, part of which was to sustain the monopoly of the Bank of the United States. One part of Henry Clay's scheme was meritorious, that of endeavoring to build up American variety of employment by developing manufactures; but this failed, because alliance was made with its worst enemies, which taxed American manufacturers into insolvency. All that remained as the sum of the balance of the work of Henry Clay's system was taxation of the profits of American industry into the hands of monopolies.

Jackson advocated cheap lands as sources for cheap raw materials. His war for sound legal tender money was so that the people would not be swindled by costly credit for currency. However concessions to the slave-

interest and to other monopoly-of-natural-resource interests would have defeated American foreign free trade in Jackson's time; only that manufacturing and maritime nations of Europe were then taxing their industry's raw materials for revenue only, by tariff restrictions.

President Jackson's policy was to save the people from paying interest for a poor monopolized, debased credit in form of bank notes not worth their price in legal tender; to recognize coin of the realm for the currency of the government and unit of measure of the value of the other products, there being no other legal tender currency in vogue, unless a few treasury notes might be considered such, the country not then needing a currency of greenbacks, because of being able to retire them by means of profitable foreign exchange under a regime of American foreign free trade and sailors' rights. States, as a vicious practice, permitted the circulation of irredeemable currency only to foster speculative schemes for taxing their own labor.

Public prosperity was sustained even under these great difficulties, but speculation languished. There was plenty of money, because foreign exchanges were in favor of profits for American products, which paid well relatively, although to an extent over and unequally taxed. They were less so, however, than foreign manufactures that competed with them in foreign free trade with neutral nations.

This Jacksonian era—although American wages to operatives were relatively as high, if not higher than today, as compared with those of Europe—was the one of American commercial supremacy on the high seas—of American free trade and sailors' rights. Ships were not

kept afloat without natural, untaxed-in-cost-of-production manufactures for freight. Foreign free trade was maintained without taxation for subsidies. Ships were employed by comparatively free from bounties products.

The monopoly in power is now doing its best to return the compliment to Europe, by protecting European foreign trade, in the way Europe in Jackson's time protected that of America, for the same reasons—to build up a home aristocracy. It is intended that aristocracy shall rule industry. It shall own the farms, mines, railroads, city and dock properties, and every form of improvement whereby it can limit production, make products scarce, and get more than they are worth by this form of taxed trade out of American consumers. It encourages immigration only to deprive it of homes and self-employment, and make a market for bounty-priced raw materials.

President Jackson's policy of cheap homesteads on the public lands, neutralized this for the time. Now that American natural resources have been nearly absorbed nothing short of free trade in raw materials will protect the wealth of those who must acquire them to secure the profits of production for themselves as their own co-operative capital, and thereby prevent monopolies owning them.

Since then, Europe has taken lessons from the American revolutionary spirit of free trade and sailor's rights. It shall not be technically said, by the todies of monopolies, that sailors' rights were confined to mere protection from "impressment" as the only historical meaning of the term, and has nothing to do with American protection. It was the rights of American wealth of her

commercial marine, that of the export of manufactures, to be under a Federal policy of protection, and States' rights. That there be no protection of an American landlord aristocracy.

Europe is detaxing her manufactures in cost of production, and taxing in greater proportion luxuries of dissipation and rent charges or incomes, cutting down imperial powers for extortion, measures necessary to perpetuate her free trade among neutral nations.

THE NEGRO.

Is there any one so credulous as to suppose, that monopoly control of the party in power, or of any other elements of partisanship yet to come into power, means in the very least to protect the negro in his politico-industrial rights to the profits of the wealth he produces—that of retaining them to himself—wherewith to obtain his rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—protect him thereby in a Republican form of government—by any modification of the present tariff restrictions on the cost of production of his wealth; only rather to add heavier political restrictions thereto?

The negro certainly gets not the least part of the free trade for his wealth of cotton, to which the rights of his citizenship entitle him, and therefore he gets no good profitable products in exchange, because the present tariff restrictions put arbitrary penalties on them, which are charged in enhanced prices. He gets nothing cheaper by the exchange of his cotton, to thereby improve the value of his profits or capital for his own good. He pays more of the cotton that he produces, for all products that enter into its cost of production. There

are none he consumes as an American laborer on which there are not bounty charges added, before he can convert them into his cotton, tobacco, hemp, sugar, &c., solely because the present Federal revenue law of tariff restrictions demands that it shall be so, to serve the private interest of those who maintain the present party in power as their agents, employed under contract to extort profits out of all the products American labor produces, in the nature of penalties, including the negro's, for these private interests; besides those produced by this labor to provide the extravagant expenses of the government. The negro, although among the poorest paid of any class of American labor, is one of the largest contributors of this kind. These extortionate, unlawful, unnecessary-for-the-public-good charges, by means of a political wrong to his citizenship, depreciate the value of cotton to the negro. Federal bounty charges make the cost of his toil to produce his wealth so much, that they destroy his home market for his cotton. It cannot be bought at its cost-price, established through the power of the Federal relation, by the American manufacturer of cotton cloth, except as his monopoly of the home market enables him to charge this enhanced price on his American consumers.

The wealth of cotton, wheat, wool, &c., should have a natural home market, to be on a par with natural and constitutional value of ships, manufactures, railroads, cities, harbors, &c., all of which would have more value than they now have, were they not debarred their natural monopoly home market by the penalties the party in power forces them to pay. With the political conditions prevailing—of a natural, co-operative home market—all

American wealth would have a higher value than it has under present party policy rule, in that profits would go to American labor—the negro included—instead of to an alien to the realm monopoly power.

It is the cardinal policy of monopolies, which now rules the Federal relation over the States from Washington, that the negro vote must not be free. It must be subject to the political control of Federal power by creating irresponsibility to the States, to perpetuate the present anti-Federal imperial party rule, in order to establish a permanent ruling class of American aristocracy over the negro, as well as the white industrial citizenship. The negro must have no rights he is entitled to as a citizen of a sovereign State.

The great consummation of this power is to be, that of taxing more securely from responsibility to the people and the States. It is intended that monopoly shall secure control of the methods of elections used by the States for election of their Federal representatives, and manipulate them, so that the people shall not have a free vote, but be subject to restraint—not protection—of the Federal power, it to prescribe voting qualifications. The party in power, by being false to its trust for preserving the Federal rights of the States, intends that all the profits of American labor shall be owned and put under control of monopolies for the sole purpose of making a labor class, subject to political disabilities. It shall be a poor, servile class, dependent on monopolies as a ruling class for its bare existence.

The negro is under this ban. It will not be permitted to a single negro to be a monopolist. The class which is to be made into a permanent political monopoly will

be composed of a mixed society of only white Americans and Europeans. None will be admitted to its councils except possessed of unbounded wealth, and capable of commanding an army of servile retainers.

Already the party in power denies the use of American natural resources to American labor, unless it will support this monopoly power, and build it up into imperial magnificence. It builds a wall against any foreign free trade market for American wealth, thus corraling so monopolies can absorb it, including the negroes' wealth of cotton at below the value to which it is lawfully entitled. It denies the necessary provision of the home market as the only means for securing profits, capital or wealth to American industry of the negro stamp. It then imports servile, to supplant American labor and profits, for foreign styles of bare subsistence without profits, gradually leveling American, to have no more value than Chinese labor.

The pretext that the South, or any other section of the country, needs bridling, is false. It only needs Federal protection of its own free trade—its State rights by possessing a market for its wealth that will not exact penalties to support monopolies that have no co-operative interests with American labor, to bring appeasement of industrial hunger, co-operation, harmony, without the competition that only wears it out, with no profits in trade. It wants free trade for its own wealth to secure itself freedom from debt, peace and plenty, with a happy social status.

No State can afford to submit to any power or conspiracy concocted at Washington against the liberties of American citizenship of any other State, such as is now

being entertained by the party in power, to permit it to rule any part of its labor—not even the negro.

This bridling the South, under the blind of protecting the negro's vote, means to control it for subjugation of the North—of Northern labor—of all the wealth it produces, to yield up its first fruits in form of profits as a sin or penalty offering on the altar of monopoly for a propitiation to secure permission to earn the means of a servile anti-human existence.

The political power of monopolies is intended to be a perpetually imperial condition or establishment, its center for emitting its mandates to be Washington, made in this way irresponsible to the Federal constitution and the people represented by States.

There might be ins and outs of parties, growing out of sectional agitation and divisions, such as the inter-State commerce law, silver coinage act, greenback agitation, prohibition, labor laws, and other divergent, instead of co-operative, political remedies, that are not intended to cure the evils of monopoly itself, which must be digged out by the roots. This political Indian—the party in power—is no good except as a dead Indian. These diversionary remedies will be enough to keep the country's industrial and credit status in a constant state of turmoil. All this is schemed with monopoly political craft by subtle legislation, to breed a feeling of distrust, conservatism, and fear of change, to thus have this conglomerate of divergent interests, composing an electoral majority, always by its disagreements, defeat common and public interests, and thereby fail to remove the last vestige of paganism—monopoly—by its inaction for its overthrow.

The present age can look with expanded vision at the historical facts presented in the record of the past, brought down to the present time, regarding the negro's industrial status, before and since the war of the rebellion, and draw political conclusions, for action in harmony with American institutions.

Before the great monopoly rebellion of slavery—against the permanence of the liberties entrusted to the Federal relation—in its rule or ruin policy, the magnitude of whose operations, terrors and issues dwarfs all previous wars by comparison—the legal status of the negro was, that he was only capital or property, beyond control of the Federal relation, to mitigate that condition in behalf of human rights. The Federal relation protected slavery as a sovereign-state civil law establishment. The negro's political status was only a bond of slavery. He was the subject or property bonded. The State and owner—of the bond giving power over this form of property—were the contracting parties. He was only wealth or property under State laws, which political condition the federation recognized and maintained as a part of the Federal contract.

The negro was, however, a ward of the State as a human being. He was held mostly as plant or improvements, like cattle, implements, &c. He was a passive entailment, which yielded the tenure of land profits for rents, taken out of the wealth he produced of cotton, sugar, hemp, tobacco, &c. He retained very little of it for subsistence.

This was his legal status, himself being only wealth, so recognized and appropriated for private or monopoly uses by the State. He was the property of monopoly-

protected holders, required by the State to yield up the profits of his labor for their income. He supported an income aristocracy or oligarchy. This property, or he, had no civil law rights independent of this political condition. It was made the right of the owner of this form of property, whether held for farming, mining, harbors, public improvements, merchandise or any other use, to tax it—the negro—for bounties to be taken out of all the wealth of cotton, &c., he produced—returning no more of subsistence than enough to keep him in repairs, to fit for reproduction.

The State laws compelled this, yet actually making the condition of the negro, as its ward, better than his present political status, which the party in power has provided for him. There is now no remedy—he being too degraded to be capable of using his political liberties to procure a mitigation from the most unlimited taxation of his wealth. By Federal law, he must only submit. If his wages are all appropriated as penalties, he has no claim, as under original State laws, for provision against sickness, old age, &c.

If he is taxed out of his wealth of cotton to pay penalties on his cost of production, and left on the highways or public lands, by Federal laws, that only obliterate his sovereign right of protection due as a citizen of the State; the law strictly maintains this condition. More than this. It interposes, with its electoral majority secured by venal vote, to prevent any effort being made to better this political status of his industrial condition—that of being robbed of his wages to support an American aristocracy of monopoly—one of helpless, hopeless, pitiable degradation, ignorance and want.

The educated classes must submit to the demands of avarice or monopoly, because labor does not unite to secure itself freedom and support, so none of them are sent to instruct him as to his constitutional rights of American citizenship—to the full, natural rewards, profits, or real value due him, of the wealth he produces, as an equal citizen of the federation of these United States—a citizen in equality of right as to his wealth, that the liberties under the Federal constitution entitle him to. No political savior is preached to him, to be embraced as his anchor and salvation. His condition of bondage to a debt of perpetual bounty taxation is made absolutely necessary, to keep the present monopoly-supported political party in power.

The negro may perish for all the provision the Federal laws have made for his protection in lieu of the poor one of his State bondage. This will not preserve, but only leave him to degradation, that others may possess his wealth. The confiscation is made solely by means of penalties on his necessities—if he is to make any wealth of cotton—to keep a false-to-its-trust political party in imperial power at Washington, officially, however, holding the insignia of Federal, co-operative-protection power, for the security of the equal rights of American citizenship only, the negro's as much as any.

If the negro is elevated to, and protected on, the level and equality of right his political status entitles him, it must be by means resulting in the total extinguishment of the power of monopoly taxation, or bounty charges of any kind for use of American natural monopolies and improvements thereon. These only absorb his profits and restrict him from having free-trade wealth which he

can call his own—free from perpetual debt of usury. The political party in power is pledged by every act and declaration of party platform that the negro shall, without recourse, suffer over and unequal taxation ; that this shall be made to cause a depreciation of the lawful value pertaining by virtue of the constitution to his wages or earnings of cotton and other products.

This will leave him a net only of what must cause him to be a neglected, servile wretch, a degraded human being, for want of natural provision to make him otherwise, after he has done his religious duty in producing enough for his well being and to sustain the family relation that Creative power provided for him the means to do, but which are withheld by force by the party in power, in violation of Creative law. All that he possesses is taken from him to support idle, income monopolies, and enables them to spend their time and profits abroad.

Calhoun saw through the plan of taxation levied on the production of American wealth only, by the Henry Clay system of tariff restrictions. It was so constructed that it would mostly tax profits out of the wealth Northern labor must produce to live on. He did not object to the spread-eagle oratory of that day, lauding it as the great system of American protection, &c., to give the people employment.

It was simply taxation by landlord monopoly for all that. He agreed to the cry, protect American manufactures, securing bounties if possible to those wanting to make such manufactures as were imported from Europe, bounties enough to recoup for all landlord monopoly charges. Charge up for all raw materials, then

invite cheap labor from Europe to rob it of its wages in buying American products by means of monopolized high prices, making it cost more to live in America than where people could escape this bounty taxation, causing landlord aristocracies to draw income from the profits of American labor, and spend it patronizing the products of foreign labor, beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal power to collect any custom duties.

Hemp, tobacco and sugar were among the principal staples to be protected in their power of taxing politically free labor, as distinguished from slave labor, in monopoly prices, thereby absorbing its profits or capital, as the condition of its having anything to live on, and be poor; also to be shut out of its foreign free trade, by helping to make the cost of living high at the North for the benefit of the landlord oligarchies of the South, giving Northern landlord monopolies a share. The wealth of ships was to cost too much labor to produce and do any foreign commerce with. The profits of foreign commerce were to be lost to American wealth, and were to be earned by a servile foreign labor for benefit of foreign monopolies, mostly Cobden Club free-trade commerce. Daniel Webster, representing Massachusetts, agreed to this. Northern labor was thereby to be in the political condition of mudsills.

What if Europe does America's foreign commerce? thinks Calhoun in the interest of Southern monopolies, as they then existed in double form. We can rob our own industry—the slaves—of all the profits of cotton, &c., they produce, which profits are our capital. Let us in the sale of this same wealth of cotton, hemp, tobacco, sugar, &c., which costs us so little, to Northern labor for

its subsistence, for prices in which we are protected by the power of the Federal government through its tariff restrictions, as monopolists, charge up enough to absorb all the profits of Northern labor, and make mudsills of it in scratching for a living—make it to be no more profitable than slave labor. Its politicians are venal enough to sell its liberties for political honors under the Federal government, which we of the South can well afford to give them. We as monopolists do not care for office, but want a party that will protect our private interests.

The party in power then said, Amen. The same political elements are the party in power to-day, the party of landlord aristocracy—politically the establishment of a monopoly power. Let American labor North and South be mudsills forever after, says this party now. The abolition of slavery is intended for the purpose of classing all American labor as mudsills to monopolies, using the party in power as its cat's-paw. This is only the policy of the party in power. It claims American industry fought out this issue successfully, and tells Europe so, and to go on building ships, because American monopoly policy denies any ships to American labor. It may pay the cost of a few of monopoly, subsidized ships.

Is this so? Will American labor always submit to this control of its liberties?

The political party in power ridicules the sentiment as a sickly thing, that of American foreign commerce—of free trade and sailors' rights—preferring foreign free trade, advocating the taxation of American free trade out of existence for this purpose, and to build upon the ruins of its Federal grandeur and prosperity the

degradation of American industry North and South by subjection to landlord and commercial monopolies.

The political party of to-day agreed to this alliance, through its representatives of that day, not for the public interests, but to secure an electoral majority. Washington was the fountain, as it always has been, for conspiracies against American labor's rights of free trade.

Every Federal measure that this cloven-footed political party can foist on the attention of Congress for the purpose of destroying the sovereignty and autonomy of the States by causing American labor to possess poor wages, is attempted under guises of one kind or other, to hide its mortal stabs into the body of American citizenship.

All protection of this system must be only for monopoly's power to enforce pure penalties or bounties, paid to them by American labor. All American labor is political heir to, is a form of oppressive distraintment for rent. The same party, by its representatives of to-day, does the same thing, from the same heartless, unprincipled animus.

Webster, considering the duties on imported manufactures, saw this advantage to New England as a pure bounty, but only up to the time of over-production, for the only market then to be—the home market, making the activity resulting from it to have temporary popularity, entailing, however, a system of monopoly protection that no over-production could obliterate, even if it could bounties for manufactures.

He knew the system, being protective of monopoly only, but not of domestic manufactures, except as infant, dependent labor, always subject to exactions of their

profits as landlord bounties, would inevitably result in labor-federations, also capital combines, in deadly struggle for self-existence against each other—the cats whose tails were tied and slung over the clothesline by the boy monopoly—each fighting the other instead of this common enemy, each in mortal combat for self-existence against the other.

Under this system there could be no other than opposition, no co-operation. All would be limited in market, hence limited in production, State's industries against each other, no rich labor of one State able to make the labor of another State rich by a demand for the products of its labor.

He admitted this condition was not as good for New England, or the country generally, as the correct rule of the law of the Federal relation, which this party intends to destroy.

Rather than have New England out of the combination of conspiracies against the liberties of American labor made at Washington, by which her politicians might lose Federal preferment and be free from State responsibility, all this monopoly taxation principle was consented to be given more power over the wealth of American labor than the Federal relation permitted. This power was ample to appropriate the profits of this labor without equivalent, and deliver them to monopolies of capital, leaving it poor and dependent on the monopolies that so wronged it for employment—its pitance for living—on the only political conditions to exist as the future American institutions, that of a bare, servile subsistence. American labor has not lost its vote, to throttle the venal vote paired against it. It has

lost the liberties its vote can recover. Will it show itself capable of self-government, recovering its political liberties by a free use of its free vote as a State right? Will it see the venal vote cast, through subtle use of Federal power, to make its own have no protection of its liberties?

The sequence of these measures for monopoly absorption of American wealth was universal insolvency of American industry. Because it was so poor and had so little credit of its own, the only credit available for commercial exchange was the credit of the Bank of the United States. It suffered fearfully at the hands of this institution, which expanded or contracted that credit for commercial exchange as a means of forcing legislation to grant it more monopoly power. American labor was too much taxed in penalties for private interests to have any wealth of its own not bonded for debt, hence have any good credit. It became too unproductive to produce its bare necessities by its labor in the form of manufactures, although there was ample protection against importations. It lapsed all its profits to monopolies, getting into debt besides. The debts thus incurred cost American labor its liberties.

Since those days and the late civil war, the negro has been permitted to vote, as a minority only, first, however, robbing him of all his constitutional liberties, those he most of all needs, by carefully transferring the trusteeship of his wealth from the control of the State to the Federal, political establishment of monopoly, cutting him out of all protection American institutions provide.

The party of venal-vote power, domineering in the Northern States, has also since the late civil war been

an electoral majority, in the Federal relation, and has thereby been able to perpetuate the degradation of American negro labor.

The more cotton he produced, the more tariff for revenue only he contributed, because needing thereby more products made from monopolized raw materials and subsistence. The party in power has, however, persistently refused to permit raw materials and subsistence to be free from penalties on production, so as to cheapen the cost of American manufactures; also that of tea, coffee, &c., through being obtained by direct exchange of American manufactures, all being necessary to cheapen the cost to be taken out of the poor negro for the production of cotton.

Such a free trade policy would enable the negro to exchange his cotton for free-trade, Federal-protection-value gold and other products with which to buy from society, improvements and rights to possession of land. This would make a fixture of the negro's citizenship.

He is therefore deprived of the power to own enough legal tender and other wealth for all his needs, after having produced enough to buy them.

Would the present monopoly party of the North ever hear of such a thing as protecting the negro in his industrial rights? Certainly not. This would break the backbone of its political power. The negro cannot logically expect anything else but taxation and oppression from the present electoral majority. It will never grant him his Federal, political right to save wealth for himself. He must produce it, only to be taxed to support an idle income aristocracy, leaving him always poor by taking his profits or capital therefor. He shares in the

contribution to support American labor's taskmasters, the result of the present tariff on his foreign exchange. Majorities override his shield of Federal protection by appropriating his cotton, &c., at less than its value by virtue of the political rights of American labor.

The American labor which produces the cotton—the negro—is charged by the present tariff restrictions a license, costing pure penalties, for the right to toil. These are so heavy that he is compelled to lose his home market for his cotton—for all he has labored to produce it to provide for the natural Christian necessities of his family. He is deprived of all the natural means his circumstances offer, as provision from Creative power for making wealth by producing cotton, through present tariff restrictions. Sometimes he is in debt, after his cotton is all applied on his account for the necessities of its production at their enhanced prices, this being the way he pays penalties out of his only wealth, his cotton, that robs him of the means to acquire any wealth for himself. The conditions are embraced, for instance, in the enhanced price of plows, hoes, fertilizers, pork, tea, sugar, tobacco, railroad freights, &c.

He stands as to political infringement of his rights the same as the American wheat, wool, live stock, gold, silver, copper, tin and lead producers do. He is not a bit more protected by his pretended friends and preservers. Like them, he has all taxation and no protection. He has simply changed taskmasters. He is no wiser than his fellow voter in Kansas and Iowa, who still votes for monopoly restrictions under the lash of the "grand old party" whip, with an empty pocket-book, except a few receipts for corn paid as interest on

debt, because of its non-payment. There is an addition of more notices of protest for non-payment of interest, glued by sweat to the lining of his pocket-book. Receipts for any part of the principal are not there.

No wonder then—seeing his oppression by taxation, that makes his necessities for production of his cotton cost more than it will bring—the negro is looking to South America, Mexico, Africa and other countries, where he can settle by agreement to be free from landlord bounty taxation on his cotton, as the Boers of South Africa have done. It may be in a few years, this robbed-of-his-all-and-expatriated American negro will land his foreign free trade, untaxed-for-penalties-to-support-an-income-class cotton in New York, to exchange for American labor's cotton cloth, hoes, plows, wagons, shoes, sewing machines, steel rails, locomotives, &c., offering to undersell the American negro's cotton, which the party in power makes more costly to produce, requiring more labor for the same amount of cotton. How much tariff-restriction penalties on imported cotton will the American laborers—the Southern negro cotton growers—ask, to be protected, so they can recoup the extra charges they must pay for no profit to themselves, to protect against the competition of this foreign free-trade cotton of the negroes forced to expatriate themselves because of American wrongs?

Will taxing by tariff restrictions on imported cotton help to give more value to the American negro's cotton, which increased value he must have to make anything like good wages for his labor, under his present obligations to pay so many penalties out of it? Has not the Federal government for the protection of the wealth of

cotton to the negro relieved him from all restrictions on production under the laws of slavery ; only to put them on in an even more servile form, by an alien power, made higher than the protection of the constitution over him—the present imperial tariff restrictions ?

Has the “American system of industry,” with bounties to sectional interests in natural resources, paid by taxation of wealth produced only by American labor, to which his wages of cotton contributed all their profits, leaving him always poor, been abandoned because the institution of the monopoly of slavery is out of the ring, as a paternal-government-protected receiver ? Will the negro get enough more wealth out of his cotton, in form of exchange of tea, coffee, plows, &c , for cost of production, to offset freedom from the tax on his wages under the law of slavery, by a tax on imported cotton ? Is this the Federal protection of cotton that negro labor needs since it produces more than there is a free-trade demand for at home, made so by tariff restrictions ? Will any one assert that present tariff-for-revenue-out-of-his-cotton restrictions is not the cause ? There can be no free-trade demand at home—unless to make the surplus into manufactures for export. Because there is no free trade for the negro, he must export the surplus to find a market as raw materials, the servile-labor-price of which abroad sets the hair on the price at home—the present value of the negro’s cotton.

Therefore this expatriated negro’s untaxed-in-cost-of-production-for-penalties cotton must find a market in Europe. Federal tariff restrictions to levy penalties for revenue on American free trade, alone determine the value American labor shall have for its cotton. It is

not the competition abroad which make the price, however, with the profits subtracted, therefore below the value that the American negro is entitled to, by the law of his citizenship—a protected home market. It is not, therefore, the competition of the expatriated negro's cotton, which becomes better wages to him, than the American negro's cotton is to him, simply because he has less imperial, cruel, unlawful charges to pay out of them for support of an income class, ruling over him. He has relieved himself by his expatriation for loyalty to the heritage of liberty, of all those restrictions on his free trade that oppress the American negro and become a charge on all American labor, because it is impossible to tax the negro's cotton without making indirect taxation on the wealth of all other American labor, if that tax is only a penalty on production.

With the Federal principles of protection enforced, the price of the American negro's cotton at home would control the price abroad. The demand abroad would improve the value of cotton, the enhanced prices justly representing the value of the natural monopolies of American landlordism, with no damage to the public interests, because with such conditions the income would be spent at home, or if abroad without lessening the value of capital to American labor, which would be fully employed at good profits, not needing any help in this way, having graduated from infancy of industry to independence.

The negro—to be therefore politically emancipated and raised to the plane of American citizenship that the Federal constitution entitles him, must have all and the only protection the Federal government can give to the

value of his cotton—the protection due to his political independence in its free trade, to secure for himself and his estate of the family bond all the profits arising from his labor without any charge on them for bounties, and without paternal government bounties taken out of the wealth of any other American labor, to give this cotton the natural value American institutions provide it shall have without wronging a co-laborer.

He gets no relief in the foreign market. Our present tariff-tax system restricts him from the free trade necessary to obtain the natural value of cotton at home. It commands him to submit to a condition that only puts down its value, destroying his natural-monopoly home market, because he cannot supply the product of his labor, subject to charges of royalties to monopolies of natural resources, at the price necessary to be co-operative with the American manufacturer, who is already overburdened by royalties of the same nature, by which he is therefore not able to make the factory cotton at a price that will cause a market demand for it, as American co-operative, free-trade foreign merchandize, with which to exchange for tea, coffee, &c., that his operatives and all his domestic exchangers consume as necessaries.

These on this account are made luxuries, to be provided by a foreign commerce. They are paid for by foreign manufactures, in part made with American cotton and other raw materials.

The condition—of the tax-collar round the negro's neck, of perpetual debt of royalties to monopolies, established by his false political friends of the North—of a tariff tax called protective, to throw cotton, the negro's almost only wages, into the laps of his oppressors,

makes him a poor, worthless vagabond. He is thereby denied the gospel of peace and prosperity, denied all educational development and other occupation than that of selling his vote to these ruthless robbers, who stand ready to destroy every vestige of the Christian dispensation of right belonging to him naturally and politically.

The American laborer—negro included—is deprived by Federal power of the profits or capital he earns wherewith to provide himself and family a place of worship. There is no place provided for him by the monopoly class that the law has empowered to carry the American laborer's privy purse.

By mandate of the civil law, therefore, he is a religiously degraded outcast. He is generally punished if he violates any part of the civil law, although there is no punishment for the violation of his fundamental law of protection, but a premium of the profits of American labor appropriated as a reward for its violation. Such are the logical results of the policy of the party in power. How can State society help him, so long as the power of the Federal relation robs him of his wealth and locates it in Europe beyond the reach of contribution for public needs?

The present tariff restriction system preterends to protect, but actually taxes without constitutional procedure, the wealth of the negro for his Federal rights of citizenship. These rights pertain to him by law, without such taxation. The contract of the Federal relation declares he shall not be obliged to pay any such penalties. That the same restrictions tax the wealth of the manufacturer in the same way is no excuse for taxing penalties on the products of the poor negro.

Taxation in penalties on the manufacturer of factory cotton makes it to cost higher prices which labor-saving devices neutralize apparently only, but cannot overcome. The manufacturer must limit production and keep operatives out of employment to force these higher prices out of American consumers for self-protection. He must wrong his co-laborers, or else monopoly will gore him. Therefore the American income consumer is not benefited by the wrong done American labor, but injured by this taxation of penalties on the cotton of the poor, toiling negro, who is doomed to eternal poverty throughout all his generations under these political oppressions. The fact of the negro not being intelligent enough to be self-protective is no reason why he should not be protected in the sphere Creative power has placed him. It is no justification for violating Creative law. All the more duty to elevate by protecting him.

In fact he has a natural monopoly in his labor that would enable him to get the best net wealth in the world for his cotton, if he is only protected by his real friend—the Federal constitution.

He does not naturally need any protection against foreign cotton. He never could arbitrarily need it, any more than the wool grower, unless his cost of production is enhanced by bounty charges to support a monopoly condition, or income class, from rents so that Indian cotton or that of other countries being taxed less for bounties to landlords—in cost of production—would be imported, or else injure his foreign free-trade market prices; their freedom from penalties less, therefore making them capable of bringing better or more foreign wages to their producers than American cotton, with restricted

or taxed, rather than free trade, conditions to American labor.

The poor, degraded, helpless freedman does need to be relieved from bounty cost of everything that enters into and becomes a part of his cotton by necessary mercence, so that he can find a free-trade and better market at home, because of having cotton with no bounty prices, rather than taxed product at bounty prices, to sell. His American citizenship will then make him better able to dictate the price of his cotton abroad, because he can make his price lower—still getting better net profits. He need not be compelled, as he now is, to permit a foreign, to make his domestic market price—permit an alien Cobden Club monopoly to set the measure of profits he will receive for his cotton.

The American negro is finally discouraged. He does not strive to acquire the wealth of cotton, preferring to hunt for the wealth of 'possum. It may be for the good reason that it is more profitable wealth to him, because requiring less monopoly and foreign exchanges to make his subsistence, the 'possum being able to work up crude vegetables into the wealth of meat, and not pay rent charges therefor, until the country is fully absorbed into landlord arable lands and preserves. He has debts at the store, all too costly, not that his merchant charges too much profit; but because there is a political party in office which empowers monopolies to enhance prices on the merchant, who also suffers the same oppressions and is not permitted to co-operate with the negro to secure good profits for both. All this depriving the negro of his lawful Christian estate is the result of the policy of the party in power favoring private interest at cost of the public.

The discouraged negro therefore leaves his cotton standing unpicked on the ground to go to waste perhaps, because he knows there is not enough of it to pay his debts; and for no fault of his own, only his misfortune in having the present political party, that is the prime cause of the woe of having a monopoly power entailed on him to absorb all his profits in enhanced cost of living before they are produced, bonding their very production to secure his necessities.

His degraded condition, however, makes him unable to bear all this strain. He is therefore called lazy and shiftless, because cotton in the field goes to waste, when in fact it is the unnatural condition of bondage to a perpetual debt of taxation by monopolies, maintained by the party he votes for, out of his cotton, so that he has none after all to keep himself in good condition, as an incentive to labor, that is the prime cause of his idleness and vice.

He might become a good citizen, and no doubt would, as a race be such, preparing himself perhaps in time, to carry real Christianity to Africa; and, if getting simply the protection due his citizenship as an American laborer, solve the social problem of the South, he being thus protected in his God-given faculties for education; instead of being degraded by those imperial restrictions made on the production of his cotton—under the guidance of a monopoly-supporting political party concocted at Washington, to establish a caste to rule over him, calling his degradation his natural condition, which is a libel on the Christian truth and justice of his American liberties and citizenship, as declared by his bill of rights embodied in the constitution construed by the principles

of the Christian religion embodying one great truth—the brotherhood of man.

From the fact that the party in power has deprived the negro of those political rights, the need of which debases his life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, his equality of right as an American laborer in respect to his wealth to stand on a legal-tender, free-trade, par value of exchange, as good as any other in the world—at home and abroad, (for there is no reason why the negro who earns as good wages should not have as good as the Federal constitution provides shall belong to any American labor) tossing him the sop of the amendments to the Federal constitution, in lieu of such substantial protection—to be used only to secure majorities for his oppression—he is compelled not only to stop development, but to actually exhaust his lands, his bodily and mental powers for lack of natural support, seeing his family neglected, unprovided, unprotected and left to the temptations of vice, a prey to the avarice of monopoly.

This is a sad commentary on American philanthropy, having the spirit of the Federal constitution, bought with the blood of the revolution, and purified of its stains by the blood of the late civil war before its eyes. It closes its ears to the pitying cry, clothed in immortal verse of a Whittier, who would sing of the abundant Providence for the negro—yet withheld for the base purpose of political supremacy, founded on more cruel monopoly than his former slavery, rather than the truths that make for the Christian elevation of the negro's American citizenship.

Will foreign manufactures be imported by American industry, to supplant its own—made free from bounties.

—if the negroes, among other American citizens, have relief from that system of tariff restrictions—that only enhances the cost of production of all American wealth, without labor getting anything of it out of the enhanced price in the shape of profits, to be his capital or property—which is made, so that labor shall pay it, on everything it consumes—destroying American free trade, by establishing a condition of non-production and non-consumption by American industry, from poverty alone of capital of its own to co-operate with?

This would not occur if American industry received, in exchange, as good wages as it produced. It would receive as good, but for political partisanship violating its rights.

Foreign manufactures will actually be imported less, in ratio to those of home production, and American industry will become richer through its foreign commerce in its own manufactures, by restoring its political rights.

The capital of American manufacturing plant will make more cotton cloth at less cost, if made with cotton that has free-trade protection, and thus be able to give more cloth, tea, coffee, &c., for the negro's cotton, than can be done by Cobden Club manufactures paying freights.

The emancipation of the cotton of the negro, from monopoly taxation, belongs to him as a political, as well as a Christian right, recognizing, as they both do, the brotherhood of man.

Until which, Federal subsidies are of no account whatever to him, in any form, or for any purpose; and are so intended by the cloven-footed power behind the throne at Washington when Federal endowments are offered for his schools. He will never be taught his po-

litical rights in them, if monopoly power can prevent it ; but his ritualism will be the duty of his service to the god-monopoly, created by the party in power, for him to serve. His vote is required to do this service, as his political obligation for the mess of pottage, called "funds for educational purposes."

It will pay him far better to have, as his own possession, the wealth he produces, retaining its profits as his capital, and then buy his own educational establishment. It will be both cheaper and more elevating to the negro to be politically and industrially independent, using his profits to pay for his education, and not partake of the surplus from a tariff for revenue to which he contributes, established to make a toiling laboring class, and making this class earn all the costs of public expenses, and support an income aristocracy also.

Granting that Switzerland did not tax the profits of production, but only the income of capital, and therefore her labor was free, so far as her government jurisdiction extended to protect labor's dues. This is no good reason for the United States of America (herself first restoring freedom from all taxation on her labor) to have absolute free trade with Switzerland. The products of Switzerland are charged penalties in the cost of their transportation through every country they must pass to reach America, because the labor of all these countries is yet servile, and the prices of carrying charges would not be only enough for that labor, but to provide a percentage to support their landlord and other monopolies, making Switzerland's wages servile, that were first made free. If American labor was political-free, as the American law provides, then the labor of

Switzerland, if it were powerful enough, would be justified in demanding of the governments whose industry exchanged her products for those of America's should be free, to secure full freedom for her industry. It would justify invasion and restoration of natural freedom to those would-be co-operative laborers.

Tariff restrictions are defensible against foreign interests of an oppressive, anti-free-trade nature. They are at best but reprisals against foreign monopolies. American laborers, producers, manufacturers of all kinds of products, should have full, unalloyed tariff restrictions against foreign free trade of the defensive kind only. Although American labor's sympathies might be with the locally free labor of Switzerland, yet, with present conditions, free trade could not exist without foreign monopolies exacting the profits from the wages that American labor produces and controls, making the value of wages to be less to American labor, which can only invite Swiss free labor to emigrate to America, and wait until a nation in America grows strong enough to demand that Swiss labor in the father-land has its natural rights protected, of which the present governments deprive it.

There should be protection by the American Federation of only free trade in American products. The transit on Swiss wealth would be paid by American consumers.

American labor should be protected against home monopolies as well as against foreign. This protection should be sufficient to secure free trade in the foreign markets for American products without reciprocity treaties. It should enable them to be natural exchanges, and to do the interchanging of neutral nations having

no foreign commerce, supplanting European monopoly commerce in a fair competition. This is the only protection the Federal relation can give American labor, that will injure no private interest.

A national party organization that will concede political protection to any kind of monopoly or local interests to secure electoral majorities, does not deserve the confidence of American labor. If it once gets into power, lugging itself with such a compromise, it will concede greater taxation on American labor to private interests, to retain this power and spoils of office—the same as the party in power now does.

All American labor and resident capital should be free from bounties, to enable them to perform their duty of furnishing all domestic and foreign subsistence without getting into debt that would draw interest-money abroad, to protect thereby the high estate and dignity of American labor earning wealth, making its production involve less toil than any other citizenship is protected in, yet with the highest and best wages in the world to American operatives who produce manufactures, and the dealer or manufacturer who handles them, and the American merchant marine-making foreign exchanges, no one being allowed to scalp all but poor wages out of co-operators to protect himself, all being co-operative, making wealth to each, by making it to all American labor. At present the dealer or manufacturer must pay bounty prices for coal, iron and lumber among other things, and must charge more for his manufactures to the American laborer for his silver, copper, lead, wheat, cotton, hops, butter, eggs, cheese, &c., who in turn must get more than normal prices if they are to be protected in being

good wages to American labor. They are not protected in this way because these abnormal prices destroy their home market, making the foreign market as poor. The abundance of American natural monopolies or sources of wealth, in every variety, is too much to be overcome by the wealth of any other country, attempting by free trade to supplant them among neutral nations, if these are protected from infringement on their natural rights. They will furnish, with least labor, the greatest amount of products.

The combination-monopoly, political party in power only backs water with its oars, obstructing the foreign free trade of the Federal convey of wealth, blocking its passage beyond the realm, causing it to circulate between its own harbors, inside of headlands; yet there is a flourish of trumpets as to the value of the wealth American labor produces. There is no word, however, as to how this labor is defrauded of its wealth, and of the debts and liens it must toil to earn interest on, nor how much these are piling up, how much of private debts, paying interest and borrowing more as population grows, on the credit of its ability to produce wealth. This wholesale borrowing is on the credit of possessing servile, toiling children, and on those yet unborn to toil and shoulder this perpetual debt, but estimated on some financial insurance tables of increase, this "grand old party" prompts Uncle Sam to pledge his domain to produce.

A tariff that enhances the cost of living is in fact a tariff for revenue only, out of labor protecting incidentally American landlord monopolies from all taxation, if the schedule embraces digenious raw materials. It is

usually called a protective tariff, if manufactures are in the schedule, which does not protect, but only taxes labor. A tariff for protection only, under American institutions does not enhance the cost of living on consumers, but secures the employment of American labor in making all the necessities of consumers, causing their imported substitutes to be dispensables or luxuries, on which if tariff penalties are paid, these are not forced out of labor. It relieves labor from the necessity of submitting to such charges, which thereby retains wealth to it, and conforms to the public interest, providing no fund for support of an income ruling class—no class dependant on extortion for its subsistence. Although it secures employment for labor yielding it profits, yet its products can be sold cheaper, making living cheaper, because the price does not cover any charges to be paid as bounties, but only charges for labor.

Under present political conditions of tariff for revenue, but not protection of labor, America must contribute to the support of European institution also, as its necessary incident, including broods of armies, in the pageantry of which American income people delight. Is it surprising that the representatives of these anti-American, anti-Federal, anti-co-operative institutions are so popular in Europe, and that she condescends to accept America's richest dowries, by the convenient form of semi-pagan marriage contracts, in which American girls are the chattels? On account of the unnatural distribution of wealth to monopoly, disharmonizing conditions exist in European society. Money—not the Christian law of marriage—is forced too much to be the marriage consideration. American girls are sacrificed to that extent.

Pagan civilization still debauches the European marriage relation.

Since imperialism is supplanting the co-operative law of the Federal relation, European ideas of the property qualifications of marriage, are being established as a part of American society and its institutions—a cowardly, dependent, way of retaining wealth in families.

How different from the tariff laws made for protection of labor only during President Washington's first term. Great Britain looked with alarm at the revolutionary declaration of the right of American labor to have free foreign trade in its own products—to be free from all exactions whatever in the nature of human oppression. She saw that this policy aimed to enable American labor to undersell in the American market, and compete successfully in the world's free trade markets. The first tariff restrictions were aimed to protect the most profitable way for buying imported tea, coffee, &c., and to interchange in all the neutral markets; not being shut out by British monopoly commerce, which did not possess such cheap, valuable, natural untaxed-for-bounties sources of wealth.

British foreign commerce would if not shut out of its free trade, by better American products, force American industry to export raw materials, and take payment in slaves, or whatever commercial monopoly-oppression, marauding commerce could procure by force, with the least value, this commerce making the price both ways to the labor of feeble, neutral nations.

Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Monroe, Jefferson and other companions in arms for political independence and liberty from bounty taxation^o of American labor without

its consent, did not contemplate a mere transference of this imperial power of bounty taxation to American monopolies. Labor organized into States, was federated to be free from all exchanges that were not voluntary and equal—those that did not render an equivalent in return—to thereby have industry to be an independent power, free from debt. They believed that their duty was to protect the American foreign free trade to thereby make ample market for all profitable American products; that the conditions which enabled American industry to capture its own foreign free trade, would take care of its domestic free trade itself, preventing successful importations of all foreign products that would restrict the production, free trade and patronage of American wealth at home; voluntarily importing only those products that added to permanent American wealth which our forefathers never intended to have appropriated by a foreign commerce. American labor was to be protected from exporting any products that did not yield profits by their foreign exchange. The present policy is to force American labor to get into foreign debt to alien monopolies who refuse to take anything but exported raw materials in payment.

The federation of all American institutions designed to secure wealth in every stage of existence up to manufactures, from every charge, penalty or bounty that would tax the public interests for supporting private ones. This was believed to be the best protection, to insure a free trade market for the products of American labor at home and abroad, and enable it to keep pace with, and be full patron of American improvements of farms, mines, cities, harbors, public improvements, in-

cluding all American; in preference to foreign natural monopolies, the use of which would cost the charges of foreign commerce, which would be paid by American consumers only, and be spent abroad instead of pertaining to American natural monopolies and be spent at home.

Possessory rights or freeholds of American real estate and natural monopolies are ordained by American institutions to be used for the public good, not its taxation for bounties by their possessors; these bounties to be exacted out of the common or public labor of the nation, and thereby reduce its political condition to one of toil, that our forefathers have made free by the establishment of these American institutions. There was to be established tariff restrictions—not to protect American landlord aristocracies—but—to make a demand for the use of American natural resources for raw material to manufacture them at home, and thus protect American labor holding the sources of wealth, by manufacturing from these materials the products needed by American consumers that otherwise would be made abroad by use of foreign raw materials at least in part.

All these were the purposes of the federation or co-operation of all the industries of the States, into one great political combine of the United States of America. The federation was made to more effectually protect American individual liberty of free-trade than the States could, by extending its co-operation and limits. Its powers were ample to secure all needed protection, and to prevent any internal monopolies that could live only by fattening on the common industries of the people, such as now have their grip on the throat of American in-

dustry, being secure in that life and death struggle, because the great body of American industry has been overtaken, while ranging free on its own domain, floundered by the lasso of the present American tariff restrictions, bound and made helpless for these vampires to feast on, and float off on wings of gold to Europe, only to exhibit their disregard of the political rights of American industrial citizenship. Their real estate agents, the party in power, have their office in Washington, collecting rents or bounties on their American investments, and duly remitting to Europe.

The practice of irresponsible power emanating from Washington, over the rights of wealth as they exist under their State governments, taxing these to protect favorites, is on a par with the power of the Roman emperors emanating from Rome to plunder the provinces, leaving them to their gods and police regulations, but controlling their wealth like State sovereignties dismantled and divested of all liberties that are worth having, and that are as valuable to American citizenship as life itself—the liberties both white and black feel the loss of so severely—liberty to have a good decent living after having obeyed Creative injunction of having earned it.

There is no industry that yields such an amount of profits to monopolies as the American. All Europe is investing in American railroads, mines, manufactures, &c., to secure a share. The American labor goose is more highly esteemed for its flavor by monopolists, than European, Australian—or even the Asiatic goose for all its labor is so cheap in price, but unproductive of income. The name of the most prolific goose for laying golden eggs, of the present age, is rightly called “American labor.”

To illustrate principles of exchange on a small scale, as they exist as at present, and as they should by protection of Federal co-operation, the retail variety store in the country, remits local surplus flour, butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables, currency, &c., taken in barter for groceries, notions, &c., to its place of nearest wholesale supply. These are partly consumed there, partly distributed to domestic manufacturing populations, the remainder going to the emporium of supply, New York, to be exchanged there to supply the city, American ship stores and exports, to balance exchange. The New York wholesale dealer is paid with profit, all exchanges throughout being co-operative, mutual and free trade. All are out of debt, need no credit drawing interest, used for extension of time for payment. Each and all are doing well, no one losing any thing, every one accumulating some wealth.

That is only if there are no tariff restrictions with penalties that prevent this form of free trade, mutual co-operative exchange of all American products with one another, thereby each helping the other to secure profits, there being a co-operative, mutual foreign exchange, by means of which American manufactures are exported by exchange direct, avoiding the European circuit with all its charges for American imported natural exchanges, those of tea, coffee, dye stuffs, &c. American operative's wages will then exchange in their home market for American flour, butter, eggs, &c., &c., there being more wealth to the producer of manufactures, to exchange for products of farms, mine and railroad produce, than to send to Europe to pay for imported exchanges. There will be no debt of foreign exchanges to absorb these

profits. All imports will be balanced by American export manufactures.

The operatives will have gotten, at less tax on their wealth, butter, cheese, &c. The producer of them will have saved the profits, called freight, insurance and exchange to a foreign market. The manufactures, he will have helped to make by this co-operative exchange, will themselves exchange for his needed imported tea, coffee, &c., so that they will have cost the producers of flour, butter, manufactures, railroads, cities, harbors, &c., less, and all be richer by this co-operative, mutual free-trade exchange. The operative in coal bounties or royalties will, however, sit in his coal bank and get nothing, while his neighbor on another hill within hailing distance is selling his wealth of coal for cost as the production of labor and profits on use of capital invested in improvements and the free use of the natural resources that cost him nil, because they only have been let for his private use by American society, which alone holds the right of sovereign domain and possession in common, and alone permits to invest private improvements on them, the use of which with labor is to produce raw materials, not charged with royalties, for use of American labor—not to oppress it. The conditions require that there shall be no monopoly, only average profits as the reward for producing national wealth, in furnishing American society such raw materials as it may want to give itself employment and make its share of profits for itself—only as good profits as the investor in these raw materials makes out of them by his labor.

If, however, tariff restrictions on American free trade so prevail that there is no home demand for American

raw materials to manufacture at home, the part of them that are thus made an arbitrary surplus—like wheat, cotton, silver, copper, &c., go abroad. Then London and other relatively free trade cities of Europe are made the centres of both domestic and foreign American exchange. American labor thereby loses its best and sure means of making wealth for itself by short hours of invigorating, life-giving industry, instead of long hours of endless toil for monopolies getting only a poor subsistence for that toil, the result being surplus raw materials deprived of a natural market.

At this undisputed state of American exchange, partisans—who advocate tariff restrictions for revenue that shut off American free trade—say inter-State trade is so large that American labor, although all the wealth it produces is loaded down with perpetual debt of bounties to monopolies at home, and of usury for support of an income aristocracy of Europe, which its toil and the needs for its family abstracted, is supporting, because not getting value for what is exported by a foreign commerce, is rich enough in the present political condition of its exchanges. It produces enough wealth, and retains enough for its own good. It is the richest labor on earth. Is American labor rich enough? Does it get good enough wages? Is it well employed? Is it accumulating wealth by every stroke of labor, as the Federal relation provides it has right to?

American labor is in fact poor. Its ceaseless toil does not pay its expenses. It is yearly increasing its permanent funded debts at home and abroad, not having enough to live on, and has therefore nothing to show what it has received for the contracts of debts it is

forced to make, except the possession of property bonded to absorb all its profits.

The inter-State commerce is not even itself in a free-trade condition, wholly on account of tariff restrictions on its free trade abroad. It is taxed out of its profits and made thereby to result in servile wages, therefore no free-trade-from-debt wealth to make profits by inter-State trade.

A political right to interchange among the States, of itself, is not American free trade merely because of being free from custom duties. American labor does not have free trade so long as monopolies can restrict it by means of overcharges in cost of production for bounties that only make them richer and American labor poorer.

American free trade cannot prevail, even with tariff restrictions removed, if the law restricts in any other way free interchange by having it to cost more than enough for co-operative profits for all concerned. For an example, the giving monopoly privileges for issuing credit for currency, limiting the maximum, but leaving it to this monopoly to inflate or contract values of produce, regardless of the natural law of supply and demand, traversing this free-trade law, by floating or withdrawing its credit to suit speculative, rather than productive interests.

Tariff restrictions can be made to either protect or restrict American free trade. Granting that they are lawfully made to protect it, monopolies can engraft other schemes into law, to prevent American labor having free trade or use of its wealth to thereby secure the profits it earns, but only by the party in power violating its political obligations.

No American laborer—although he might export manufactures during a year of abundant production of domestic staple raw materials, these being too much of a surplus in the world's markets to make them a monopoly for holding the price up to point of tariff-restriction on foreign competing raw materials—would be safe from monopoly charges in building up a good-will of an export trade.

As soon as profits existed, he might be made to feel the screws of monopoly charges for some forms of raw materials he must have, thereby exacting these profits. The government does not protect the American manufacturer from this raid on his wealth by the monopolist and income non-producer, but rather corrals him, so that he is helpless and must submit, unless he—an American laborer—compromises with the government by paying penalties for revenues only to support the government, and thereby the government protects this monopolist from all taxation.

The laborer earning manufactures, railroad charges, wheat, silver, lead, iron, or any other form of wealth, must be protected from the oppression of monopolies in any event. The imperial reason for this protection is, these will demand more than equal-value, using tariff restrictions to tax high prices for living, instead of its having its proper sphere of making it cost less to live and less labor to make American products, for not only home consumption, but to have them, in every form of manufacture, make all foreign exchanges; under which political status every kind of industry will be protected in the right of employment by having a free-trade, good market for the sale of its own products, and the best market in which to buy subsistence.

American labor, manufacturing combination products, of high-value, purchasing power for foreign exchange, must be protected from any political interference of useless charges, which will only rob it of its profits to give them to private interests or monopolies.

In the spirit of American institutions, there cannot be an American-monopoly foreign commerce, as is the British, which is built on political strata, the lowest layer of which is cruel human suffering, vice, oppression and ignorance. Its policy is to destroy all compensation to any labor that seeks profits for itself.

The protection of American labor, in its freedom from all charges on its wealth without its consent and value received, will best protect the value of American farms, mines, railroads, cities, harbors, &c. This is the only way for all American labor to secure wealth in use of all its capital in form of public and private improvements, and protect it from being a poor, toiling, degraded, suffering, estranged-from-society class—requiring force to keep down its discontent from wrongs for which political society is to blame. The class of labor that suffers and pays most, possesses the least. It is to be pitied and protected, so it can help itself. It is more sinned against than protected.

When Federal custom duties are highest on raw materials, and those edibles entering into consumption as they exist, that would be acquired by direct exchange of American products, the greatest proportion of American exports are raw materials, because such duties tax their use for manufactures at home. A larger proportion of American consumption therefore is of imported necessities under such restrictions, but without them would be

luxuries, because their substitutes could be made cheaper at home.

With these conditions, there are less consumed of American manufactures, also of American shipping, brokerage, insurance and exchange, but more of the foreign, aggregating much less than if American labor was protected in retaining its own profits.

American free trade—that is, American labor free from all penalties on production that would restrict its own markets—results in easy, comfortable, contented, good times for all classes of American labor, from the highest to the very lowest. Every individual will have his natural wants supplied, if he does not violate the natural laws of society, being free to conform thereto. There will be no perpetual debt of interest to support an income, ruling class, accompanied with long hours of labor and excessive toil. This is the social condition of the Federal relation as our forefathers intended it should be. Its spirit is only with mutual, equal exchange in both inter-State and foreign relations. Tariff restrictions were to be used to protect equality only.

American taxed trade—that is, American labor restricted by having to pay penalties for support of an income class, to procure a government license to labor and produce itself a bare existence—results in suffering and hard times. If American labor is permitted to have possession of any wealth to use, it is thereby loaded with bonds for perpetual debt of interest, so that its income from this wealth is overcharged in cost of living. Labor gets only poor wages to itself, accompanied with long hours of excessive toil. This is the social condition of a society founded on a ruling, monopoly class, and a

toiling class, the law fostering—not protecting against—these conditions.

The reason that Europe, particularly Germany, is detaxing the profits of her labor in a greater proportion relatively than is being done in America is, that she is becoming more Christianized in her politico-industrial policy. Perhaps her circumscribed condition is forcing this result.

America is puffed up with pride at the unsurpassed area of her natural monopolies or resources for wealth. Her citizenship is spending its time in an intellectual spree, conscious of the productive powers of this great American heritage. She is becoming more chrystallized in the paganism of her governmental policy, ignoring Christian principles and duties in executing the trust of the Federal relation as affecting the several and common interests of the States, in their position of equality and sovereign independence or freedom from all claims against each other, and the outside world, including monopolies that are alien to fundamental law.

The representatives of the States, exercising the powers of the Federal relation, have been allowed to become such, by not being too chary in observing the schemes of monopolies or private interests, which have chartered out in Washington every election district, in view of securing enough of the venal vote where needed to make electoral majorities in contempt of State's rights.

To secure this power, monopolists have provided some political puppets, among their press adherents and speakers, to tell the people that America does not want any foreign trade—is better off without it.

America must have some products of foreign labor, to

elevate the physical, moral, intellectual and religious plane of American labor above drudgery, servility, ignorance and vice. Why not pay for them with those American manufactures that will retain the most profits to American labor, thereby incidentally using more American raw materials, consuming these in giving employment to American citizenship, improving the value of real estate, making products of more purchasing-power manufactures, having the elements of American free trade and good wages in them, in the forms that are wanted for an export demand, at their free-trade prices, less bounty charges ; so that after providing enough for home wants there will be plenty of employment in making manufactures, that will buy all the imported products that American citizenship needs. Such free labor will keep out of foreign debt, and have the Federal protection in securing enough of American independent, self-employing occupation, and of the profits for co-operative capital for the populations in cities, to enable them to pay for all imported products, and have actually more left for home use, wherewith to patronize American capital invested in improvements of farms, mines and railroads, than if only raw materials contribute something towards paying American necessary foreign exchanges, leaving American society subject to foreign debt, obliged to give bonds on its wealth and sources of wealth, drawing perpetual interest earned by American toil to support a foreign income aristocracy.

There will with this full protection of American labor and capital from monopoly rule, be no oppressed toiling class ground to poverty by the combined dead weight of society resting on it. There will be no suffering from poverty amidst plenty.

Raw materials, bringing less than they should bring at home and less than they are worth if exported, accompanied with the trade status that imported tea, coffee, &c., cost American consumers more than they are worth or would cost if paid for by free-trade American products making direct exchange, will cause any labor to tend to poverty.

To stave off such consequences, the present shifting policy of the party in power at Washington, as well as its counterpart at Ottawa, having the same policy of patronizing monopolies and taxing labor, is to force the pledging of American natural monopolies and their improvements, consuming the wealth obtained by this policy of national funding for present needs, rather than export enough raw materials for such poor prices to keep out of debt. All this in a land where the most natural wealth abounds and can be produced for the least labor. The present policy is to keep up public credit as long as possible and secure all the wealth possible to monopolies until universal, periodical insolvency occurs, because of American labor being forbidden the free use of the sources of wealth before its eyes and within hand's reach.

Why is the wealth of American improvements of farms, mines, railroads, cities, harbors, &c., with all their valuable natural monopolies, made unprofitable to American labor? It is because of monopoly taxation of them—to secure profits at expense of the industries using them—this power being imperially exercised over the Federal relation, taxing the Federal right of free trade. To destroy a nation's free trade is to destroy its labor's wealth. This is why its wealth is owned abroad practically—by

the power of liens on it for debt—sold too cheap and cannot be redeemed ; because there is an arbitrary, imperial, unprofitable market for labor to realize on its products.

American labor cannot pay the stipulated interest abroad and have enough to pay fixed charges of expenses, much less profits, hence is compelled to remit interest abroad, that should be retained to American co-operative producers as profits or capital, the balance being poor wages—those permitted American industry to possess.

Why do the American people keep such treasonable partisans in power, who work only to get their wealth into general indebtedness with liens on all of it ?

WHAT ARE THE PRESENT PROFITS OF BRITISH AND LOSS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN COMMERCE?

“ The Bureau of Statistics recently issued a statement from which it appears that the value of our merchandise exports during the expired three-quarters of the current calendar year was \$538,741,023, of which \$9,182,962 was foreign merchandise. The value of our merchandise imports during the same time was \$582,799,062. The total value of our foreign commerce, therefore, exclusive of gold and silver, was \$1,121,500,000 in round figures. For the same nine months the figures for Great Britain were : Exports of domestic merchandise, \$910,000,000, and of foreign and colonial products, \$236,400,000 ; total, \$1,146,400,000. Imports, \$1,549,000,000. Total value of foreign commerce, \$2,695,400,000. The total value of our exports and imports was nearly \$25,000,000 less than the value of exports alone from Great Britain, and the British total of exports and imports was not much less than two and a half times ours. Per head of population British foreign trade was about \$57, while ours was only about \$17. That is to say, British foreign trade, in proportion to population, was nearly four times as great as ours. Such is the result of the policy of taxation on raw material.”

The above was clipped from the Utica (N. Y.) *Daily Observer*, Nov. 5, 1889.

The *Observer* might pertinently have continued and said—such is the result of a policy forcing American

raw materials like wheat, cotton, &c., for export, into the laps of British foreign commerce to build it up, instead of protecting American labor, so American manufactures would supplant raw materials for foreign exchanges, there being thereby a better market for manufactures abroad and a better one for raw materials at home; American labor being relieved by such a free-trade condition from supporting an income class by its toil.

Great Britain's monthly statements show that she pays for imports by her exports in kind, although the above extract does not embrace this fact. British national wealth does not pledge itself to borrow capital.

Gold and silver are not her money currency at all, but are among products of merchandise. Her legal tender and unit of measure of value of the products of all her commerce is her Bank of England issues of credit. It is never known how much wealth will buy it—what it will cost, being subject to fluctuations of value.

This foreign commerce is out of debt. Therefore British labor does not earn the support of a non-resident income class, as American does.

The same statements also show that these paid-for imports are many millions more of dollars than her exports. The difference represents the profits of British foreign commerce—the surplus accumulations of British wealth therefrom by exchange of manufactures to neutral nations, mostly. Monopoly accumulations, however, with a poor, unprotected, unprovided, oppressed labor, is the result of the British system.

American politicians under control of monopolies, and working in the official treadmill as a political party holding Federal offices, have the gall to assert to American

labor, whose vote is paired off and nullified by the venal vote, that it, producing raw materials, must pay heavy penalties of bounties to American landlords, to get the license of Federal power to produce them. It must not after all this sacrifice of its wealth to pay these penalties or licenses, even have its only natural and good market for the sale of these—the home market. American labor is denied the right to sell to its co-laborers, its own raw materials low enough for them to manufacture for the wants of American consumers. These monopoly American politicians also insist that these consumers shall be forced to pay penalties of custom duties on enough to support the department of American institutions called the Federal government, withholding raw materials enough for this purpose from manufacture for home use.

American labor cannot pay all the bounties or rent charges exacted by monopoly landlords of natural resources, from the poor wages or small wealth it gets by not having its own home market for sale of its raw materials, without being in perpetual poverty.

It must therefore pay for all its imports of foreign exchanges with only its raw materials, which it is forced to produce as a surplus, because of being out of employment producing manufactures for export on account of tariff restrictions made for other purposes than protecting American labor in acquiring wealth—made for revenue out of profits of labor only, to establish an income, ruling class. If these surplus raw materials will not pay for its imports, American labor must pledge the profits arising from its natural monopolies to pay interest on the debt of foreign exchange. The bond to secure this pledge covers the control of all the improvements

on American natural resources, and the condition is, that unless the debt be paid, the interest accruing shall be a perpetual debt, running through all generations of those to whom American institutions were bequeathed as a heritage of freedom to protect from such debts, thereby undermining these institutions our forefathers established by shedding their blood

American politicians fortified behind the ramparts of monopolies at Washington, beyond the reach of State guns to force observance of the rights due their labor, pass Federal laws making such tariff restrictions, that there is no other possible way for American labor, but only in part to pay, in kind, for its foreign exchanges, these to be only its products of raw materials; therefore there is no way to prevent the obligation of perpetual debts of interest to support European income aristocracy, and of bounties to support a permanent American landlord aristocracy. This is the present political condition of American labor. Senators of New York once refused to stay behind ramparts built by monopolies. They resigned their seats rather than become responsible for laws passed to rob American labor of the wealth it earned, and which the fundamental law of American institutions declared it had title to, freed from all penalties, it to be handed down through all their generations so long as American institutions exist; which for the glory of our forefathers, may their existence be eternal, although contemned by the supporters of the policy of the party in power.

Unless American labor ships its raw materials, there being no other products for export, the wheels of domestic trade will stop. These heartless politicians—

who hold office, only because they vote to make all American labor toil ceaseless hours for a bare subsistence, by means of tariff restrictions for revenue, that their procurers of the venal vote may possess without money or price all the surplus wealth or accumulations this labor ever produces—call this stoppage of the wheels of commerce, speculation by this impoverished American labor. They want a movement forward, when the wheels of trade with the conditions of a credit for currency to make an arbitrary value on these raw materials, will enable their supporters—monopolies—to speculate the value out of them into its own hands, leaving not money enough in poor American labor's hands to pay the doctor called in the night in case of sickness in his family, living with poor carpets on its floors of its sickly, death-dealing tenement houses, &c., &c.

The right, to ask Federal protection of the value of the wealth American labor produces, is called speculation, by these vampires. American labor only asks to hold its own in place. It is satisfied with its natural value, but wants free trade to get that value. It does not ask the government to make a fiat value for its wealth, as monopolies do, which American politicians sent to represent the States in their Federal relations, provide for these monopolies by appropriating the wealth of American labor to them without any mutual free trade or consent of that labor, as the constitution provides.

Must, then, these raw materials be sold abroad? Is there no other sacrifice that can be made? Cannot a few monopolies be sacrificed to save? Is American labor bound to make any sacrifice at all to this alien,

imported god—monopoly—the only import of the party in power, not as a necessity but an imperial luxury—foreign fashion? Is there no market, at home, since American labor must have raw materials like these to live on? Must foreign raw material made into manufactures be imported to secure Federal revenues? Does not the law of Federal protection of American labor's co-operation provide that there shall be a full demand for theirs at home? Is it necessary to import any manufactures for the sake of revenue? Is there need to use foreign manufactures made from exported or foreign raw materials? What inducement is there for American labor to produce wealth, since the party in power says it is too servile and degraded to possess it, unless paying interest on its value for its use to support income classes? Is it possible for American labor to get the profits of the foreign exchanges by sale of its raw materials in the foreign market? Is there not a glut, abroad, of the raw materials of all the servile labor of the world? Then why not send American manufactures to these servile nations that can pay for them in American labor's necessities? Does not British foreign commerce do this? The answer is, that it would destroy all monopoly power, and present office-holders would have to retire from posing in political postures.

American labor has misguidedly—not incited by the educated classes, whom it has ignored, but by demagogues—voted itself into this political servitude, each voter getting his deserts, by voting to make a monopoly of his own natural-monopoly or source of wealth, so as to get the license to tax all American consumers of his particular products in monopoly prices, regardless of

the rights of labor involved, by protection of tariff restrictions barring all foreign competition of raw materials. He has finally found out that as a class he has not only got left, but is forced to pay the penalties he voted to have the power to inflict on American labor. Instead of being able to extort all the profits a manufacturer can produce, into his own pocket without a free trade, mutual equal exchange of value, preventing thereby the manufacturer exporting his products and buying for this would-be monopolist his tea, coffee, &c., cheaper than foreign commerce would do it for him, he has simply deprived cities of natural, co-operative employment, and of producing any wealth to impart to this monopolist voter for his products of the ground and mine. He finds himself therefore more taxed than protected by this system of protection of monopolies of natural resources only, as he deprives his natural and best customers of the wealth to buy his products with, because he failed to vote to make co-operation profitable for both, by trying to get wealth both could produce to himself, by making his American co-operative laborer poor; throwing all the net wealth from both into the hands of foreign commerce, by which it appears that that of Great Britain adds this much to her national wealth, included in the published statements of her imports and exports. He has voted—in violation of the contract of the constitution to preserve the credit of the States—to establish monopoly protection not in the spirit of American institutions, hence has no paying market to make his natural monopoly profitable—because no society is going to labor for the benefit of only a part of it, except under compulsion of daily necessities.

For what purpose is there such anxiety in trade circles, that surplus raw materials of American labor, shall have no home market except what will impoverish the American labor producing them, such as wheat, cotton, &c., and be forced to be sent abroad? To get rich by the profits? No. But to pay up foreign indebtedness growing out of this kind of foreign exchange, caused by political oppressions maintained by the party in power, that American labor could not avoid; no matter how hard it toiled, how much wealth it consecrated, at sacrifice of its family provision, on undeserved debts, how little it reserved for itself, solely because the party in power says by its edicts that American labor's condition must be only servile, or there cannot be an American landlord aristocracy to coach with its peers in Europe.

When American labor holds its raw materials of wheat, cotton, &c.—the only surplus fruits its political restrictions permits it to produce—the only reliance it has for its necessities—because prices are made so low in the foreign market, where all the servile labor products of the world are presented to be applied on debts of foreign exchange—it feeling it must recoup somewhat of its bounty cost put on them to support American landlord aristocracy—the sponsors for the party in power carry the echo of Wall street to Washington in a graphophone, “that there will be a tight money market,” and “the liens on American labor's natural monopolies and improvements will be foreclosed by alien holders of them” and “the banks will be compelled to realize legal tender.” There can be no more extensions of even the best of credit to save those engaged in commerce from loss, by payment of interest for the use of credit, it

being put beyond the reach of American industry to control it, by the cruel, ignorant, fraudulent policy of the party in power, it only establishing monopoly bank reserves of it. Even forcing the poor farmer and other American laborers—who vote for this condition of things under the lash of the whip of the “grand old party” of fraud and oppression, in their incompetence for self-government—to sacrifice their all. The sustainers of this policy find this is not enough, so periodically call on the government treasury to lend assistance to private monopoly interests, and demand that the government shall pay these monopolies a high premium on their bonds, to thereby release money from the public treasury, plausibly to relieve from the status it has placed American labor in.

All this is because American laborers producing silver, copper, wheat, &c., will be ruined by what wealth or wages they are likely to get, they being forced to crowd the foreign market with their own poor American servile-labor wages, themselves being in debt, and denied by party policy in power, backed up by private interests, the protection of the home market to realize enough to pay debts in, by destroying the value the products of American labor will bring at home, which value would keep it out of debt, with plenty of par value legal-tender exchange products or wealth besides.

This is a fair comparison of the British and American foreign exchanges. The discussion of this subject therefore never comes to a focus. A diversionary view—in giddy intervals between music and parades during Presidential campaigns—is presented, calling American labor’s attention to the immensity of its territory and

actual production therefrom, claiming this is due entirely to the present political policy of the party in power. There is no word as to how much labor-saving devices have increased the volume of American wealth. American labor possesses, free from debt, however, none of this wealth. It is consumed in enhanced cost of living American consumers must submit to, causing a great deal of American income to be spent abroad for subsistence.

The party in power cannot be brought to discuss the subject of debts, except to say "credit continues good."

After a very large quantity of low-priced raw materials are skinned from American natural resources and sent abroad, "money becomes easier," although the process impoverishes American labor and enriches monopolies to support the fraud. The lowest stratum of this labor-condition has a servitude as galling as that of a galley slave of the middle ages, one for which American society, and largely American labor itself, is responsible. It is true, the educated classes have provided modern labor with labor-saving devices, by which labor of to-day has better clothes, shelter and food than galley slaves, but it must wrestle with the storm all the same, and is charged with far greater care and responsibility, or it would perish outright. The leaven of Christianity may be credited with the better clothes, &c., the party in power for the care, &c.

To convert these into American manufactures only increases the penalties that its labor has to pay out of its profits or wealth, so that this alone prevents any American profits by having its own foreign commerce.

There is no claim that British industry is in debt abroad. If it is in debt at home for income to support its aristocracy, this income is spent at home, consuming all produced and importations besides. Great Britain's financial status then is, that her capital is abundant, not being obliged to borrow it, or credit, from abroad. America does both, still does not have enough with which to do a foreign commerce of her own, for all that her sources of wealth and actual production are superior, and would enable her to be richer than Great Britain, but for her trade restrictions wholly in favor of private, at cost of her public, interests.

Great Britain's imports represent her free trade, from successful competition, profits or national accumulations of wealth of her own foreign commerce—although largely made up of wealth produced by industries servile to their own monopolies—like American labor—bought at below its natural, good-wages value.

They show how much British wealth is accumulated by her foreign free trade, more than is expended to acquire it; by which means British monopolies are easily able to carry the public debt, to thereby draw income also from the profits of British labor, as well as debts of foreign governments.

It does not follow because British monopoly foreign commerce has a protected—by the folly of foreign governments—political status of a free trade to scalp the profits out of all the wealth produced by foreign servile labor of the world for foreign commerce, that British labor itself has free trade. British free trade is not one in which both buyer and seller have profits, as would be the case if both industry's products interchanged

were free, by removing their political servility. This is the free trade American labor should hate, yet it is the only kind permitted it by the policy of the party in power. That is, it is permitted to send its raw materials abroad to be slaughtered by British foreign commerce. It is by the present tariff restrictions denied any other trade for them.

What industry works harder than the American? What makes it work harder? Is it because it is getting richer by its industry? Is it not because it is yearly getting poorer? Is not the value of its wealth getting less, because getting more liens for debt and usury on them? Is it not struggling to save what it has, trying to be able some day to live on its savings, subject to continued taxation for right to use them?

How many Americans are throwing off their work harness? Is not American industry actually owning less wealth yearly, monopolists of America and Europe absorbing it? Is there not a lack of American foreign free trade? Is not this caused by the party in power, favoring only private interests at public cost?

Any excess of imports over exports, under the present tariff trade restrictions on American wealth, would be ruinous to American domestic and foreign credit. This status would be without alternative, but of idleness, vagrancy and want—of enforced scarcity of wealth. The load of debt would and does in fact grow to be too heavy, breaking connections, and business engagements, periodically liquidating through the sponge process of insolvency, accompanied with a paralysis in production.

American labor will not be permitted by the policy of the party in power to co-operate with the capital it pro-

duces to thus acquire the wealth it needs. This capital is put beyond its reach as fast as produced by its political conditions. Having no productive foreign exchanges on this account, it will be compelled to increase its foreign indebtedness with increased population. If the spirit of American institutions prevailed, this increased population would increase the national free-from-debt wealth, and wipe out the debt, the follies of the past have so industriously cultivated, and stop the perpetual debt of interest American labor now provides by its toil to support an income European aristocracy. The present policy of Federal restrictions on American labor's acquisition of wealth will force to increase foreign debt, and therefore its greater degradation and a greater proportion of society to toil to support an income political establishment.

These Federal trade restrictions prevent American labor from manufacturing its own raw materials for exports to buy its foreign exchanges, but compels it to pay European labor for doing it, largely using foreign raw materials, while itself remains idle and American natural resources are less used. So many charges therefore come out of it, that it causes the value of exports to be less than they naturally would be for the profit of American labor, and of imports to cost more than if American labor did its own manufacturing for export, it paying the tariff for revenue on these to support the government. All this shows that American industry is deprived of its foreign commerce, and has to pay so much to have it done, that it is in perpetual debt and poor.

All charges of freight, insurance and exchange made

by a foreign commerce with America, are taken out of American raw materials exported, and then appropriated to British monopolies, while profits are included in British imports of wealth accumulations. Thereby there is established the political condition of a tenant class among American farmers, miners and railroad operatives. What railroad operative is able by savings to own any stock in railroads? What of manufacturing stock? All American labor is made by its political condition to be too poor to own any property or stock in these improvements, to thereby have its co-operative help to make it more independent and forehanded, not be a mere ceaseless toiler from an arbitrary political pressure on the margin of subsistence. American labor would then build its own ships and make its own foreign exchanges.

Daniel Webster, for all of his adhesion to labor despoiling electoral majorities of his day, personally objected to the system of tariff restrictions on American production of her own wealth, that destroyed the free trade pertaining to New England's foreign commerce of exchange in kind, also her inter-exchanging with neutral markets by New England's free labor.

He explained how imports might be in excess of exports yet not incur indebtedness abroad, but rather add accumulations of American wealth and these belong to American labor, not to monopolies, as British commerce now does to her monopolies.

He said, in array of facts substantially, that American capital merged into the body of a ship, laden with American flour, employing for its co-operation the docks, and sailing from a political co-operative organization of incorporated capital of improvements, called Boston, could

go to Spain under Federal protection of New England's free trade from charges of bounties by monopolies on American raw materials, added to the cost of the American wealth of a ship laden with flour. It could exchange this free trade—from any charges except for the profit of American labor—American wealth of flour to become the wealth of Spain (which might be charged up in price on Spanish consumers by tariff penalties, if Spain chose) for Spanish wealth of wine.

With the wine, the co-operative system of American labor called its commercial marine could sail for the West Indies, exchange for the wealth of tobacco, sugar, &c., and carry this newly produced American wealth back to starting point, using American capital called Boston for port and dockage, storage and exchange, &c., paying a profit to the co-operative owners of this wealth, the return cargo of American wealth being much better in value to American industry than its original crude wealth of flour.

It may be pertinently queried, how much sugar, tobacco, &c., would this American flour have brought to American producers of ships and flour, if they were restricted by charges out of them for bounties to build up an income class. Would not these wages have been produced in some other country with less bounties? American laborers could not—loaded with them—build American ships. Themselves would be walking about the wharves, looking at British ships passing American lighthouses, which American labor must provide.

Then British commerce would buy this flour, and import this wealth of sugar, tobacco, tropical fruits, &c. With American political conditions causing this result,

how much more of this wealth would British foreign commerce leave as paid for American wealth of sugar, tobacco, &c., than would be left by free trade American foreign commerce?

Some thoughtful American school boys, contemplating their prospects of getting wealth and independent position in life—would, in their restless, free thought, conclude that there should be no restrictions on the production of American wealth, if this were to result in American ships doing free trade American foreign commerce. They would like a Paul Jones trial with American ships freed from the political obligation of paying certain penalties to some aristocratic, politically-constructed American hog, or monopolist of American labor's own materials before that ship could be built—before they could acquit themselves as becomes enterprising American citizens in the spirit of American institutions. They would hardly rest content with a political party that would be so truculent to the monopolist as to deprive American citizens of anything but the servile conditions of Europe. They would like a free trade contest with British monopoly foreign commerce. They would ask no subsidies, but simply protection of their rights.

There are, however, some private interests to be subserved by the party in power, because election expenses have been paid by these private interests, so that spoils of office might be secured. The agreement the party in power has made, in which you, ambitious school boy, have your vote paired off with a venal vote, nullifying your political rights, by which monopoly shall rob industry and leave it poor, while this monopoly power shall possess all the capital of the nation. You, school

boy, having the generous, enterprising spirit of your forefathers, are to have that spirit crushed out of you. You are to be a wheel horse hitched beside a servile toiler imported from Europe or Asia, required to keep your end of the evener on the fare to which only servile labor is bred. You will have no means to cover your hands with gloves, but must develop horns on them like your servile peer in harness. You, school boy, are growing up and being educated to work for this monopoly's profit, not your own. You are to have no political protection for the capital you produce, that will enable you to secure the profits as your property. Monopoly supremacy at Washington has decided that the party in office shall pass laws controlling by Federal power, all elections by States, so that these communities with national powers shall not be represented. They shall be less than the rights of nations accord. Only monopoly shall rule, shall pervade all political atmosphere. This power shall be irresponsible to the States, even if monopoly shall be forced to provide the venal vote to give it a majority. You—school boy—shall not have any foreign commerce and be an American citizen at the same time. This monopoly power has other uses for you. It has a tread mill for you to toil in. You are to be a mudsill. You are being educated to toil for monopoly. Technical schools are to be established, so you will learn to be worth more to monopolies. You are to have instilled into your being, that this is the religious duty of obeying your master, but are never to draw a breath of free American air. It is to be provided for you only to give your strength to toil for monopoly. You may have one of the cheapest, poorest carpets American servile

labor makes, on the floor of a tenement house, with such poor sanitary provision, that you cannot earn enough to pay doctors' bills. You will forever be too much worn out in service of monopoly to enjoy that carpet. In election times you will be twitted for having that carpet, and told by your masters that if you free yourselves from their service, the carpets must go. A campaign lie of course. These servile conditions are to be your future lot as an American citizen, when the State you were born in is fully denationalized. Your children are to grow up more degraded than yourself, as population crowds upon the monopoly controlled margin of subsistence, that monopolists withhold from you, of which, however, Creative power has provided an abundance for every human being ever to be created, as Christian ethics teach, if the power of monopolies does not violate the natural law of distribution, such as is established in the United States by our forefathers. The party in power holds its offices only on condition that this natural law established by Creative Power, and also ordained to be the rule of American institutions, shall be trodden under foot, and American liberties of free trade be a laughing stock—self-government a failure.

The politico-industrial point Mr. Webster made, was that American free trade wealth acquired at small cost of its labor to produce flour and ships, was co-operatively converted by natural selections and survival of the fittest under Creative law, into the good wages or great wealth of tobacco, sugar, &c., by the profits of tramp foreign commerce in neutral markets, at the same time making competent exchange for all the home wants of American income consumers, to keep them from spending their wealth abroad, as well as the wants of labor.

If bounties for use of American monopolies of natural resources could make the cost of growing this co-operative wheat greater, also the co-operative mill that grinds it, and the co-operative railroad that must carry this co-operative flour into co-operative capital, called Boston ; then other flour costing less bounties, anti-cooperative with the capital of American labor, however, could start from London and earn all these profits for British monopoly accumulation of wealth. The British ship would touch a portion of American natural monopolies on which are located American wealth called Boston, which has cost its owners about double its labor cost on account of the charge of landlord bounties. This British ship will pay Boston its charges, charging enough more for sugar, tobacco, &c., which American consumers will have to pay, the profits all going abroad to swell British wealth ; while one class of American society—that portion engaged in fencing off American labor from free use of the sources of wealth—is engaged in absorbing the wealth of another, instead of all co-operating in producing wealth, that the profits of foreign commerce be added to the national wealth.

These American foreign-commerce, free trade products of sugar, tobacco, &c., under New England's former status of political protection to her free trade with its sailor's rights, by execution of the control of the Federal relation in behalf of her American rights of free labor, foreign exchange in President Jackson's time—would be American, not European possessions, although earned by American labor. Their owners—American labor—would therefore be additional patrons of American farms, mines, railroads, highways, canals, harbors, &c., making

a natural monopoly increment of profits for use of American natural resources or advantages—instead of contributing them as bounties to Europe for support of her income aristocracy and a navy for cooling the ardor of American labor.

American labor's flour would be placed in Spain, instead of British monopoly flour; free trading that much more production of the American federation's flour into the more commercially profitable American products of sugar, tobacco and other mutual, natural tropical exchanges.

If it turned out that there was more sugar, tobacco, &c., imported, than needed for home use, these would not be London pawned-for-debt junk, but paid-for surplus accumulations of American wealth. They would be the net profits of American foreign exchange, costing nothing but free intelligent American labor, making the foreign exchange of the world in all neutral markets, including Canada—American sources of wealth being free to the axe, pick, shovel and hoe for American labor to begin the production of its own wealth.

The base of supplies for distribution would not be in the free city of London or Hamburg, but by use of American capital invested on American natural resources, doing business under the name of Boston, in this case; the owners of which need not have to make an extra charge beyond what would be a good return for use of this capital called Boston, because Federal power says it has promised and engaged the Boston labor shall contribute its quota of bounties to some monopolies that are doing their best to prevent the owners of this American capital called Boston, making any money by co-operating with

other American capital of ships and manufactures in making foreign exchanges for the profits they make for American capital owned by American labor.

As political conditions now exist, American labor cannot use its capital invested and doing business under the name of Boston by right of the State of Massachusetts. It, by direction of imperial power from Washington, is told that it must look out to sea and sing its dirge for the death of American industrial liberties; no bustle of business to break the sounds of the free sea breeze as it wails its requiem to American foreign commerce. All its surplus labor may take its knapsacks and tramp to Pennsylvania, where monopolists will give it plenty of work, gauging the price of what it will cost to feed this American star of Empire moving westward, by cabling first to London to learn the price the breadstuffs of the servile labor of the world daily being closed out "under the rule" for debt, the price they expect to pay Western farmers.

In his day, Webster voted to have a tariff for revenue only to suit the behest of a political party under the name of a protective tariff. It is the same party which the Senators of New York refused to obey, but resigned their seats, when obedienee demanded the degradation of the State of New York representative power; the same party of monopoly which might give Webster the Presidential nomination, whereby he would be compelled to curb his free New England spirit, and serve monopolies. It was his price as a Northern politician serving monopolies, for political honors this monopoly-supporting party might confer. This was no less than the degradation of the foreign industry of free trade and sailor's

rights of New England, preventing thereby the other States of the federation from partaking of her prosperity attending the co-operation that this policy prevented. This caused all American labor to be restrained by tariff restrictions, from the privilege dear to every American, that of attaining personal and family independence by acquiring profits as his capital by his own unimpeded enterprising industry ; exchanging his products without feeling the arbitrary status of a tight money market, because his independence to secure the profits of free trade is protected ; his own right arm—his own labor—not having the incubus of Federal trade and penalty restrictions laid on it, compelling it to support an oppressive ruling class—being able to undersell for all kinds of foreign wealth and pay for it, buying bullion to make his internal legal tender exchanges with, if the producer of American bullion attempted a monopoly of it ; protecting, however, the American producer of American bullion from all penalties in cost of production, that would prevent his getting all the profits to be made in producing it ; American labor then—not Great Britain's monopolies—owning the accumulations of free trade foreign commerce made by itself ; America being the store house of exchange—the centre of the world's commerce—no produce of American labor held as junk for penalties.

Webster voted that Boston should not make wealth by American foreign commerce. If he defended New England's free trade, his political ambition beyond his own State might be thwarted. He voted the liberties of his State should be subject to imperial power emanating from Washington. His own neighbors were therefore

not permitted to say what they should eat, drink and wear, what houses they should live in, or what they should think.

American manufactories have never been closed, only for the one great cause, the exhaustion of all their wealth to pay bounties to American private interests in natural resources, except for a false currency for speculation.

If untaxed for bounties, American manufacturers can undersell Europe to-day, because they can produce and own this production in a larger amount, including the manufacturers of ships, for the same labor, than British labor can, which must by the Constitution of Great Britain support an income aristocracy.

Is it not high time that the fool-killer come round and destroy a few American voters, who serve monopoly, rather than defend the Federal free trade at home and abroad, and thereby the protection of all the liberties of American labor.

THE VALUE OF BRITISH, ALSO OF AMERICAN WAGES OR WEALTH TO THE LA- BOR PRODUCING THEM.

This labor that possesses no monopoly of natural resources of wealth, must buy raw materials to convert them into its own wealth of manufacturers; or else be a class of co-laborers with manufacturers, the wages being what this labor receives as employees. If the political status is one of free labor, it will receive co-operative profits; if a servile status of labor, it will receive only bare subsistence.

The value of such wages or wealth is treated as being under their present political status in both countries, subject as they are to penalties on their economically necessary free trade compromises with the governments of modern civilization. The prior and most damaging compromise or commutation, is landlord monopoly. The secondary and most subtle one—the monopoly of credit for currency—is able to drive out legal tender as the unit of measure of values of all other wages or wealth. This latter monopoly however would be more tolerable if landlord monopolies were abolished, because income from such monopolies would then be spent employing the industries producing it in all kinds of public improvements, including foreign commerce equipment of improvements for use on the natural highways of the seas—of ships, harbors, lighthouses, &c.—as well as diversified manufactures at home.

Monopolies result in the expenditure of incomes for

living, employing any industry's products for subsistence, if there are less charges of penalties on them.

To secure a dependent tenantry landlord monopolies permit only the use of so much of the sources of American wealth as will be needed to manufacture for home use, where they are protected in forcing bounties out of American consumers.

Is the wealth of American labor blessed with all the liberty, or free trade in foreign exchange in which it has the Federal right to be protected? The party in power assures American labor it has enough for its own good. Has American labor enough of free trade for its best interests? Would any more, by releasing bounty charges on American wealth, destroy its value and thereby close up American manufactures? Would American consumers be using imported manufactures—such as a servile population could only buy—causing thereby American manufactures to be unprofitable to labor?

Can American citizens continue to use importations, without paying for them in their own wages? If in only their poor wages of raw materials below value—below what British labor can produce them for British monopolies—because they have a no-free-trade-home market, American consumers must at best have only a few of them, and be very poor indeed. They may have more of them by getting into debt, pledging their natural monopolies and public improvements—of railroads principally—to secure that debt with the perpetual debt of interest saddled on American labor.

The difference in the value of the wealth of British and of American laborers, making the condition of labor to be higher in America than in Great Britain, if this be

so, is not in the number of competing laborers in Britain ; but in the taxation that falls more heavily on the earnings of British labor, compelling its flow into arbitrary channels of production, those of exports, by which to better provide its sustenance, in place of those not earned, on account of restrictions made on their free trade by the taxation of landlord bounties, established under the British constitution.

With these detractions from British wages, it is becoming more apparent that the rule of bounty exactions out of American wages may really become more oppressive to American production, than British penalties on her labor is to British production. Hence, for the same labor, British citizens may be able to acquire more wealth to themselves after their support of monopolies, than American.

There is naturally no surplus of laborers in the British Isles, but rather room and need for more, to improve the value of the co-operative wealth of each, presuming all wealth to be free from penalties, so that there would be a better availability of British natural resources.

A large increase of laborers in America would have the effect of only raising the value of American wealth to its producers, so that American industrial people of every class, even to the lowest stratum and grade of development, could own a greater accumulation of wealth to themselves severally or individually, with the same amount of labor, if American wealth had its Federal and natural liberties, by protection of freedom from irresponsible imperial abstractions to support a rule over them, preventing their co-operation to produce wealth for themselves.

Charges are made on British manufactures for foreign freight, insurance and exchange to import free-from-British-taxation raw materials, also cost of export of all manufactures they produce. Still they compete successfully with the foreign manufactures at home and in the foreign trade, including neutral markets.

The fact that a few lines of German and American manufactures are consumed in Birmingham—during American Presidential campaigns principally, however—on account of labor-saving devices and new economical forms of products, ahead of British development, only teaches her labor a lesson how to improve the value of her own manufactures, these imported manufactures never gaining any permanent foothold. This is not enough to permanently supplant the use of British manufactures in their own markets, and compel an export of her raw materials, to buy tea, coffee, &c., as American policy forces to do with the raw materials American servile labor produces for them.

British monopoly simply learns how to make these imported manufactures, or makes more of others for the same labor by the use of them, in manufacturing her exports—than by their exclusion. No political party of the British empire would hear of their exclusion, as the means of maintaining British foreign commerce, or even home free trade. The tory, landlord-monopoly, political party in its pride of British empire, would yield its own political powers of entailments, rather than British commerce be not mistress of the seas. It does not, however, require such a strain of patriotism, so long as the world's industries are servile.

Such a regeneration of the life of British industry as

the abolition of land entailments would produce, would be, because it determined to assert its rights of internal as well as external free trade, to avail itself of the production of wealth such a field for its development would afford.

There are, however, some of British raw materials which are produced in part from her own natural resources, such as improved water courses and powers, cities, harbors, railroads, habitations, agricultural and mineral products, including wool, iron, coal, tin and others, the cost of obtaining which is not made a monopoly-charge for use of natural resources, enough to embargo domestic and foreign free trade for British commerce.

The landlords of natural resources hold the balance of power, as to British free trade. They take all the royalties or bounties they dare, and that is made to depend on how much imported raw materials are bought below natural, free-trade value, of those nations in debt, on account of restrictions on their free trade that destroy their own home natural market, and internal manufactures for export—including American raw materials from this reason.

British spirit of liberty would not submit to even this, only that her trade can profit enough by the folly of the American, and other people's, too ignorant for self-government, so that these conditions protect her monopoly foreign free trade.

It is not so much the low wages of British industry that makes her manufactures so cheap, but because she merges so many foreign products, like wheat and cotton, which return less wages to their American producers—

those that are forced on her markets at below natural wages value, to apply on the balance of the debt of foreign exchange.

British possessions are not in debt. British monopolies have the cash with which to scalp the products of the world—to speculate on foreign necessities—and as the labor of all nations is being taxed by monopolies, so that it cannot have enough of profits or capital—and cannot therefore manufacture, and must find market for raw materials, among those nations that tax less to support monopolies, where they can get at least something for them, as better than home taxations permit them to get, to pay for quinine and other foreign necessities they must have in one way or other; all these competing products of serf labor, including those of America, make London their junk shop.

This enables British monopoly scalpers of foreign productions—of industries in debt—to buy below value. This we are told is protection of American industry, to give it employment. It does give it employment producing poor wages in shape of raw materials.

Why cannot American industry be less partisan, and see such patent facts? What necromancy surrounds and enchants it? What makes it to be such an infant industry—in such helpless misery? It has no need to go to London for any of its foreign exchanges whatever. It has enough of everything with which to make its own direct exchanges, and not get the poor wages the party in power now forces it to take. It can provide itself with the best of wages—in ample supply for all its needs. It can collar the venal vote and thrust it aside. By its vote it can rid itself of paying tribute to monopolies.

To enable American manufactures, not to be always working as infant industries—needing to tax consumers for charges on them by American monopolies—it will be necessary to forbid receiving bounties for use of American natural resources, and depend on them, thus protected, to furnish the cheapest raw materials in the world, getting themselves the best wages in foreign free trade, from manufactures of them, they getting their share of the profits of manufacture.

American manufacturers, being exporters, will be no more infant industries, asking tariff-protection to serve private interests.

At present American laborers or manufacturers are taxed more by home monopolies, than they are protected against free trade in foreign manufactures, so must inevitably receive no profits, after supply overtakes demand.

American landlords should be satisfied with their natural monopolies—of the saving of freight, insurance and exchange, which foreign competing sources of wealth must pay. This would enable them to produce free-trade raw material against home competition of foreign raw materials, and yield the most wealth in the world to American labor, having no need to be afraid of the world's free-trade competition among neutral nations ; making tariff restrictions to protect only the public interests, in which all profit, by putting a penalty on all foreign entangling alliances of trade, the currency of the products of which would only compel American labor to receive less value than it gives.

Coal, iron, stone and other raw materials, form the basis for production of British improvements of cities,

harbors, manufactories, &c., because the lords of British natural resources dare not hold the cost of their use too high, for the dignity and freedom of British foreign commerce. These are merged with the sacrificed-for-debt imported American raw materials, and help make the British manufactured products, which are so valuable for foreign commerce because they have cost British monopolies so little, combined with the cheap wages of British labor.

This labor is circumscribed in the production for its own use, of bare subsistence, by government protection of landlordism; one human being being better in the eyes of the British government than another, as it is now in America. It is denied a natural employment on British soil, to produce self-sustaining wealth, as well as by foreign commerce.

The great imperial, arbitrary help to British laborers or manufacturers of products for foreign commerce, that prevents depreciation to their extinction, by the competition of American free trade, is the over and unequal taxation on the production of the wealth of other countries.

These restrictions are so great on American manufactures, that not enough are even produced for domestic free trade, these having imported manufactures to compete with—much less an export free trade. From pure poverty of them, others are substituted by importations from Europe, China, Japan and other countries, the condition being affected by the status of foreign labor, tending to bring American labor to the same level, if tariff for revenue—not protection—prevails. The policy of the party in power is so timed that manufactures

would, after these charges being paid on raw materials, leave less wages to the American wages-earner or manufacturer producing them, than to the British—preventing his being able to pay good wages to his American operatives—politically co-operatives, if the spirit of the law of the American federation of all her industries be observed.

The lackeys of monopolies say the American manufacturer pays better wages to his operatives than corresponding British wages. Is this a fact, or a political lie? No doubt the American manufacturer could pay more for the intelligent co-operation of his labor, if relieved from bounty charges for raw materials. How can he if he has no entire, free-trade home market and cannot export at all? How can he realize enough out of his products to pay good wages? As for producing American manufactures for domestic consumption, the manufacturer does nominally pay more, in inflated values; but this appears to be the case only where by labor-saving devices and greater deftness of operatives, he is compensated by greater returns in quantities of manufactures. This condition is not prevalent nor lasting, because piece work and specially high-priced work is forced down in this, the present restricted, home market.

American manufactures, that would be domestic and foreign free-trade products, and create their own demand at home and abroad, if monopolies could not collect bounties from them, now actually give way for employment to British operatives. The policy of the party in power is, to enrich Cobden Club monopoly. It makes a demand for British manufactures, and builds.

up the value of British monopolies of foreign commerce. American labor in the mean time is wearing out its old clothes in retirement, in poor, rented, high-priced homes—carpets on the floors, &c.

How much harder would it be for American competition in foreign commerce, if the British nation chose to make all her natural monopolies and improvements, free-trade capital, and pay her lordships from the civil list entirely—adopting gold as the legal tender and unit of measure, British labor thereby being made free?

Then monopolies—the cause of any low wages that are the lot of British producers—having gotten wages of its labor too low, so much so that any more fall in them would cause an unwilling expatriation from “merrie England”—an emigration with extinction of the production of exportable manufactures—the British government must stay its hand—must do a little more protecting, by means of a little less bounty and penalty charges. Further arbitrary depreciation of the value of British wages must cease. The monopolies engrafted on the liberties of the British constitution, must curtail the measure of their wrongs. They must not starve the British-labor goose that lays golden eggs, so long as other countries cause no barriers to immigration.

What further helps depreciate the value of wages of British industry is that they must in the hands of their producers, be parted with in larger quantities for habitations—ground rentals of some form or other to stated lordships or government conditions—as a storage place for cities, harbors, railroad and canal easements, &c.

If there is any other method of just as good government-protection that would better secure the rights of

free trade, due to all of British production of wealth alike for benefit of British labor, and that would encourage production more, by costing less of bounties and penalties to maintain it, then there exists an imperial, civil-law oppression upon natural human rights of British citizenship.

Another taxation, or penalty, taken out of British industry's wealth, as a condition of its production, is on its subsistence of tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, beer and spirits. These alone pay the largest part of British fiscal revenue. These penalties come mostly out of the poor laborer's pocket, preventing his children being as good in the eyes of the law as the children of lordships—the State providing less for them.

The American, Federal principles of protection are the reverse of those submitted to by British industry, under the British constitution. These declare for the free trade of American wealth of every kind, in everybody's hands, absolutely and unequivocally—their liberty, independence, and the protection of the full value of them to their producers, as the imperial, political duty to be enforced in execution of the contract of the Federal relation for the equal protection of all the industries of the different States, showing partiality to none.

American laborers take their lessons in political schools of monopolies, and are taught therefore to laugh at free trade—the only means of their deliverance from the bondage of perpetual debt. They do not organize for protection by co-operation, but by labor monopoly organizations and capital combines to make products scarce, and thereby tax one another as consumers for

self-protection against the wrongs of civil law, instead of organizing to remove political restrictions of penalties that support ruling classes. Labor monopoly organizations simply tax fellow or co-laborers, and therefore the cost of living on themselves. Labor by its Federal vote must abate tariff restriction penalties on production of wealth and work for itself. It must reform tariff restrictions by united vote, so as to prevent monopolies getting any wealth without labor.

The political party in power, in order to prevent American labor possessing any wealth, has pledged itself in its last national platform to a Federal policy, declaring that it abandons "no part of its present system of protection," which includes that of enforcing penalties or bounties from labor to support an income aristocratic monopoly of American natural resources, whose pecuniary interest is to spend that income in Europe. It has pledged its power to the establishment of landlord monopolies, in violation of Federal rights of and to tax American labor only. The industrial citizenship of the several States can have no liberties under this declaration of party platform. National rights of the States that were to be protected by the contract of the Federal relation, are to be superceded by the power of this party platform made the constitution of a new government. The protection of the written Federal constitution is to be set aside. Some are trying to overturn the government by force, rather than monopoly political power—by the aid of co-operative political organization for that purpose. Labor can under such a political platform of principles above referred to never possibly have majority representation. It declares practically thereby that monopolies shall preside and have the casting vote.

Is then American labor better off in fact than its British peers? In these United States of America, is liberty to labor and produce wealth for itself not a myth?

What a fearful state of things exists in the Argentine Republic, having a population of about one-half of New York State, yet a public debt of about \$900,000,000, besides untold private debts! Although this government has adopted the Federal constitution of the United States of America for her constitution, yet she is not ruled by it, but by financial monopolies under European control. All the income of profits or capital produced by her industry is therefore transferred to Europe. Her richest income people live there. Her labor toils for them. There is no imperialism in Europe, but has its balances from the fact that income is largely spent at home, which makes its oppression less. The industry of the Argentine Republic must ever be of the most degraded kind, a crude hand-labor, non-consuming kind, until there is a reform in public policy to better protect it in the value of the products of its labor.

It is to be feared the Republic of Brazil with its gigantic bank monopoly corporations, will follow in the same track, and her industry be worse off than under previous, milder imperialism—making the future cost of coffee to North American consumers to be higher, because of penalties in cost of production exacted to support European income aristocracy. North American industry is now contributing in this way to the support of South American aristocracy living in Europe. The republics of all the Americas have had too many bad precedents derived from their senior sister, the United States of America, in violation of her Anglo-Saxon, lib-

erty-proclaiming constitution, in aid of monopoly aggrandizement at expense of unrequited toil. How can the Monroe doctrine reach such political aggression of European power of debt, when American rule is traitor to the freedom of its labor?

The Argentine Republic has a remedy without revolution or repudiation, by making gold coin her legal-tender unit of measure of value of all her wealth, granting no bank power of issue, her tariff not for revenue at all, but wholly protective of production, rather than of monopoly and taxation; and then by funding her public debt into two per cent. legal-tender greenbacks. This would enable her to pay her debt by wealth of her own production, providing, however, only enough for the first few years of revenue by an assessment on her railroad receipts, to pay the interest on her greenbacks, and establish after a few years a sinking fund. This would make her labor to be both a manufacturing and foreign commerce industry, owning her own ships, and enable Argentine labor to own its own greenbacks as income investments, making all its industrial results co-operative, spending its income patronizing its own instead of foreign wealth, because its own products would be so good and cheap. This would make her labor free.

So long as there are territories of unoccupied land in North and South America, Africa and the South Seas, competition of natural resources will divert labor and prevent monopolies getting as much of labor's wealth in bounties.

At what unnecessary sacrifice of home! Treading under foot love of country! All that is dear! At what cost has Mammon put industry to! Breaking the bonds

of the family relation ! Forcing expatriation to secure natural rights, rather than obtain them by revolution in old countries.

Revolution, it is feared, is looked on as the only remedy there, since labor has no constitutional protection as a political factor, it having a minority representation only, against the invested combined power of imperialism in form of monopoly.

In Europe, the best present reliance of labor, is its monarchical establishment against its nobility and commercial monopolies. Competing monopolies for power may, under the name of republics, aim to destroy monarchies, in order to better secure their power of robbing industry of its profits, as against each other. France is an example of this. Labor has no protection in France. In fact the wars of Europe have as their fundamental motive, the power of monopolies contending against each other for the power to rule over certain territories and compel the labor of those territories to yield up all the wealth it produces for their support, it getting only bare subsistence.

The present American condition of labor is, a gradual lapsing to one of helpless dependence—the economy of want, such as now exists in Europe. There is no good reason whatever for it not being prosperous in proportion to its intelligence. Once restored to its political rights, co-operative, material prosperity is an easy thing to effect for all deserving it. The present conditions are unlawfully strained. Simply to restore the natural rights of wealth to its own free trade under the Federal relation, becomes the liberty of American industry to secure for labor full value in exchange.

This free trade means good profits or capital to producers, if not speculators or monopolists. There can be no other condition protecting in permanently good wages, as a possession and heritage, to be handed down to coming generations of industrial American people.

The present condition of American producers is, a political state of dry rot, always on the verge of want, requiring more hours of labor for the production of wealth, than the Federal laws provide shall be required, because it must labor to furnish enough for income people, as the first claim on all American wealth.

Then where is the dignity and freedom of American labor? How can the "chink" we are all after free its producers from overwork, and degradation below the Christian standard of development, and preserve vigor of body and mind to its producers?

Bringing into use competing natural resources from abroad, will enable it to accumulate more to itself than British monopoly can to itself, by the free trade and saving in the cost of American raw materials. It will own its own profits as capital, to open up other domestic natural resources, if any raw materials are held too high for their free trade. It will then not be embargoed—from building its ships with which to do its own foreign commerce—by bounty charges for coal, iron, copper, lead, lumber, farm products, and carrying charges.

MONEY.

The legal-tender, gold, unit of measure of the value of all other wealth, also its co-ordinate, par-value, legal-tender greenbacks, are the imperial rights of American labor, together with tariff restrictions subject only to American institutions. These alone will cause all American labor to have full political protection. This will enable it to hold all it produces, relieved from support of income classes to rule over it.

American institutions, unviolated, protect the labor of all the States alike, in all its varieties, from being assaulted or oppressed by any and all conditions that rob it of its wealth—its natural distribution, recognizing slavery no more as a pre-existing condition of sovereign States or nationalities.

The ownership of wealth by American labor will enable it to keep out of debt. It can thereby dispense with the need of monopoly credit for currency, and measure of the value of its labor, although free to use commercial credit for exchange. It can then determine the value of the products of its labor for itself. The baser cannot drive out the better currency, in this politically free condition, and thereby rob American labor of the value of its products, in their exchange.

The people must recognize greenbacks as their own contracts for value received and sustain them in their value equal to gold, as purchasing currency. Values must not be inflated during their currency, by legislation favoring monopolies.

Greenbacks are evidences of constructive possession of money held in trust by the government for use of bearer, at his own option. The people not making this option a reality, by providing their political agent—the government—the funds, there should be no restrictions on American labor in the free use of raw materials, so that adequate production will absorb all issued, in exchange for it, for only value received.

The fundamental cause of inflation of values during the currency of greenbacks following the late civil war was, because tariff restrictions were wholly in favor of landlord monopolies of American sources of wealth, the tariff being for revenue out of the profits of American labor. There became by the issue of greenbacks, a sudden demand by American labor for raw materials to produce the wealth that would acquire these greenbacks, because of their value as wealth, and to be used as currency. American labor needed free-trade raw materials, to not have these greenbacks cost it more labor than they were worth, by having to earn support for income classes, before earning the cost of greenbacks. It did not want the government, after their issue, to force it to produce enough wealth to support an income class as the penalty of owning its own greenbacks. The party in power not only made these penalties by its tariffs, but incidentally deprived the people thereby of the use of them as free, legal-tender value money.

It then cancelled them, and made other contracts in lieu of them, by which funding into government bonds, the people had to pay interest on them, without having their use, as currency, and then were obliged to pay interest also for the use of the national bank notes for

money currency, their gold money being needed to pay foreign debts.

Landlord monopolists said to American labor, we have got the Federal government to back us up in charging you penalties, if you undertake to get any of these greenbacks, to the extent of tariff restrictions, more or less, in the ratio these exist. Your American labor shall not freely earn wealth and with it buy them. We, landlord monopolists, have put up a job on you who fought or worked to defend the government, and have furnished by your labor, the materials to uphold the government made for the protection of your liberties, and have taken these greenbacks for pay. We will get as high a tariff as possible for revenue out of the profits of your labor, during the whirl of patriotism in supporting the credit of the government, in addition to taking its greenbacks in payment for its immediate necessities. This will make American labor poorer, so it will have to sell its greenbacks to live on, or rather its poverty will destroy the natural market for them—the home market. While greenbacks are so depressed in value, we—monopolists—keeping up a high tariff on American labor's necessities, will ask a correspondingly high price for our raw materials, and thereby absorb the wealth of American labor at less than its value, by the prices of the raw materials that are its absolute necessities. The greenbacks we get for tariff-protected bounties shall in fact cost us no labor—shall be premiums for paying successful Presidential campaign expenses. We will be masters of the situation forever after, if we can keep up a tariff for revenue only, incidentally thus protecting our landlord monopolies, and taxing labor to support the government,

keeping the negro labor—the balance of power—so poor, it will be the venal vote. American labor shall pay us all its profits as bounties for our tariff-protected, raw-material necessities.

After these greenbacks are all thus secured from poor, degraded, toiling, servile, late returned from the war, but always patriotic and loyal industry—even including the negro—for absolutely nothing but free bounties exacted by the government from American labor, for doing nothing except keeping the present party in power; then use this party to fund them into interest-bearing bonds, leaving American labor without currency, or any means resulting from industry, to determine the value it shall have for its products. Next secure monopoly national bank currency of credit, without requiring the duty to have that credit possess any reliable value in the hands of industry, there being no obligation to redeem it, except in something as redundant and unavailable for labor.

It was conditions like these that caused California gold to be depreciated below its natural value. The people being in debt on account of tariff restrictions that only taxed their wealth and protected American landlord monopolies, were compelled to use credit of their creditor for currency. Gold then became merchandise and had only value as there was arbitrary demand for it for speculation, like any other product. After being acquired by speculation, values were inflated on consumers. It was not its abundance, as some suppose, that made it go down in value. American abundance of gold or wheat does not cause either to have less value. Their abundance would only create more demand for labor, if

its conditions were free. Tariff restrictions protect monopolies in depreciating their value, so that they can then acquire them, because of the poverty of labor that these restrictions produces, so it cannot hold them for value, or its federation of co-laborers earn the wealth to buy them.

To prevent greenbacks losing value to individual holders as money, they should draw interest and be legal tender as the condition of their issue, and be the only form of government bonds. Greenbacks would then be held for income, if other wealth became inflated above the value that gold makes for them.

Assuming the aggregate free trade use of capital produces a natural net increase of two per cent. per annum, this might be the proper standard of interest that all greenbacks should bear from time of issue.

No injury need come of this, because the government, having the option, could retire them at any time if it paid the public better to do so. It certainly would, after it redeemed its outstanding debt to monopolies, which being legal by American labor's own vote, should be paid according to the terms of the people's political contract—debts owed in Europe as well, it paying dearly, however, for the experience, that will teach it the duties of self-government hereafter.

Legal tender money of gold and silver, gold to be the standard of value, and silver the subdivision of the lawful standard of measure, and the co-ordinate currency of greenbacks, are a part of the fundamental law of American institutions, although they are not recognized as such by partisanship favoring private interests, which causes bad precedents to be thought part of the funda-

mental law. Because the dicta and judgments of the courts violate the principles and spirit of the law, it is the duty of American labor to so have its case represented that all such precedents be reversed.

Greenbacks have full legal tender value, if fundamental law for protection of the rights of American labor be not violated. They, if permitted by abolishment of monopolies, would be currency and carry actual free trade value, and prevent depreciation in the value of all other American wealth. They carry as full, natural, mutual exchange, as much so as barter in kind, and are a medium without a gap or depression from the level of par value, in their inter-charge. American labor must be protected in its labor, while working to secure legal tender, by securing the profits of its wealth, to be able to own them.

By the office legal tender, national wealth selected to be used as such, becomes the unit or standard of measure of the value of all other American wealth. A conception thereby of all other values, in their relation to it and of foreign exchange, can be had by knowing the value of the product used for money, by its weight or measure as a commodity, but only if labor is free. Gold weighed and stamped is the product used for Federal money by all the States or nationalities of the federation under its contract of the Federal relation. Silver coin is equally money, but not as a legal tender, and therefore unit of measure. Gold is by the constitution, construed as the money standard of international exchange, it being then the existing commercial commodity used for this purpose. Silver is coined by the most free nations for subsidiary money—not as the unit of measure

of values of other products. This is the evident intention of the founders of the Constitution. Any other construction is made in the interests of monopolies at cost of public interests.

There will, however, be no need of bi-metallic currency, from any scarcity of gold coin, if monopolies are frozen out by the life and heat of American industry, its free production being protected. Servile labor will possess no money, no matter how much gold and silver are produced. All will be converted to merchandise to pay debts and it will use a baser currency—that of credit—in the ratio of its obligations.

By enforcement of the constitution, for the protection of free trade in American wealth, the supply of legal tender of gold, will naturally and inevitably be in proportion to the great variety of American wealth, to secure thereby the greatest benefits. It will be produced to cheapen the cost of exchanging, with no fear of loss of wealth to labor. This condition will prevent its being in such abundance as to inflate prices of other products, for as soon as these held any higher, in relative value with foreign exchange, money will be sent abroad as foreign trade merchandise to profit by its sale, and be absorbed into plate and other uses.

The reason of inflation of prices with the influx of California gold was landlordism of the world including America—that is, by the tax on labor by landlordism there was no free trade market for sale of it. The American market would not absorb it. Monopolies had no use for it, so American labor could get only poor wages. It must pay out all its profits for bounties. Monopoly considered California gold as its own plunder

and finally got it—the power of the Federal government for oppression of American labor by tariffs for revenue was the means provided for monopolies to use. It was willing to give labor a bare subsistence for getting that gold, but not more. Labor got no more than if it produced corn. It is true, all its value was not swallowed by the first exchange, but the labor producing it received only products that were subject to bounty charges in every exchange, so it became only a matter of time, that it was no better off than if the wealth of gold had never been produced by it. It did not co-operate to benefit any other labor, which is still in the same poor condition.

There being a scarcity of other products in hands of poor American labor, prices went up, for benefit of landlords only, this depreciating the natural and federal-right purchasing power of labor's product of gold, such as it would have had in a federally-protected free trade market; which would have provided an abundance of other wealth at home, for the demand this gold created.

Tariff restriction prevented sufficient production for free trade to acquire California gold at full value. This also prevented American labor from going abroad and exchanging gold for such foreign products as would enable its producers to get full value, by a fair competition in free trade, and with the importation of the wealth acquired, make their product a portion of American industrial wealth.

Tariff for revenue forced labor to take less for gold, of monopolized American wealth by parting with it to American monopolists, there being no other sale or market. Monopolists would then either spend it in Europe for living, or else lend to American industry.

When gold would have permanently added to the wealth of American industry, and made it free from the perpetual debt of usury, tariff legislation interposing, took away all American free trade protection, and absorbed it into the hands of monopolists at home and abroad.

Then, as now, and ever has been from time immemorial, by human oppression, the more there has been produced of gold, the greater the accumulations of wealth into few hands, and individual industry has to work even harder, than if there were no reserves of wealth, because universally monopoly and oppressions have prevailed. The more wealth and magnificence labor has produced for monopoly, the more cruelly it has been oppressed. The discovery of new worlds of undeveloped wealth has for the time extended relief to those occupying for relief from oppression.

California gold-influx caused a demand for wealth that American co-operative labor would have found beneficial for sale of its products in buying this gold, but for such a policy as exists to-day, that of incidentally protecting American landlord monopolies by a tariff for revenue out of American foreign trade. With all this demand for labor, the government said it should not be free to use raw materials to make wealth for itself, but must labor only to serve monopolies which would set an arbitrary value on gold and their products. When labor had a chance to elevate itself, the government ruled by anti-Federal, anti-co-operative party policy, said it must not presume to be as free as our forefathers provided the Federal government to protect it in.

This made the producers of California gold, mere toil-

ers for a living, not accumulators of wealth. Plenty of gold did not make American labor richer. It only made monopolists richer and American labor more servile; illustrating that when a part of American natural resources most in demand are a monopoly, the condition causes all the wealth to pass into fewer hands. The more there is produced, the more they absorb; the more therefore is labor servile.

The farmer's wool, wheat, cotton, &c., bring him no profits, any more than gold and silver do. The profits of these fall into monopoly's hands and when returned to the labor producing them, in the form of manufactures, are so costly that it cannot buy what it really needs of them.

This gold largely migrated, therefore, to where it was worth more than in America, only because of less landlord monopolies, and remained abroad. It was lost to America forever, and what was acquired in exchange for it remained abroad, because less taxed in its exchange for subsistence. If any is loaned back to taxed American industry on usury, this usury goes to Europe as income, to be spent by an income class there.

California in her golden age was therefore robbed of her golden opportunity for building up a grand American co-operative, Occidental empire of her own wealth, in political alliance with a co-operative Oriental American empire of wealth—out of debt—a free-trade empire—that is, with no bonds of debt to contract its wealth in the ownership of American labor. These empires of American labor are devastated of their wealth, because ruled over by monopolists. California had an abundance of wealth in the value of her gold with which to develop

her natural resources, if the Federal relation had not deprived her of its natural market to favor private interests. She is now in want of it, paying interest therefor, although for no wrong she had done, rather for obeying the great law of labor that is the foundation of Christian ethics. That is, American labor shall be oppressed and trodden under foot by the foul anti-Christ monopoly—because it performs the great duty of attempting to Christianize itself, not by degrading toil for others, but by the labor that has its inuigorating periods of rest, or Sabbath, for the blessings it brings its family. This policy says American labor must do service only to monopoly, and therefore have no provision for family rest or Sabbath. Be bred for toil only, without the family relation—like brutes.

California is now toiling to produce wealth to fill her contracts of usury. The violation of the Federal relation forces her to support a foreign income aristocracy by the interest she toils to produce; the sweat oozing from her fair, sun-burned brow, once shaded with the golden ringlets of her virgin beauty. These have been ruthlessly shorn to deck the harlot—monopoly—an alien to the family—not a blood relation—an adventuress imported by the party of monopoly, in power. By insurgent exercise of imperial power over the Federal relation, poor, weeping California is made a bond servant, wasting her beauty in slavery, to provide the dainties that are served at the front, where her fair form cannot appear, because denuded of the natural adornments of her beauty. The party in power—the black eunuch of monopoly—has done the behests of its master, binding her to this perpetual servitude, denying her the shield

of the protection every State has committed to the charge of the Federal government for this use. Every pound of wheat, raisins and gold costs her far too much.

A people not developed enough to bring all their wealth under co-operative, equal relations, protecting every laborer from charges on his wealth or capital of penalties for private interests whereby there is not an equality of human right, but will without resentment see labor wronged in use of its means of wealth, to provide for the Christian family relation, will not have spirit enough to improve the currency value of products of any kind, or of credit to represent their currency value, by any arbitrary conditions imposed upon it. For example, a war against national banks. The war should be against conditions that force an industry into debt, calling for arbitrary credit to be used for money currency.

The great and only remedy for improving credit currency is to make labor more wealthy by removing tariff restrictions from free trade in its own wealth, to enable it to get out of debt, by getting more value for its products, and thus be able to use the legal tender of gold our forefathers most wisely provided as the only unit of measure of value. Bank note currency, and every form of commercial credit, but without monopoly powers, can and will then aid the production of wealth for American labor.

Where the rights of American labor are protected, neither fiat, nor the various forms of government monopoly credit currency, can compete with present legal tender, as the unit of measure of values.

However, a legal-tender note, issued by the govern-

ment needing the use of credit, made under conditions that do not depreciate the value of other wages, by not being issued without value received, payable at option of the government, with the contract of annual interest until paid, would co-operate with legal-tender coin, and take its place, if bullion became more profitable for export as merchandise than other products.

Greenbacks, under a protective tariff of labor only, will have the preference of coin, so long as there are foreign Federal debts to pay.

It evidently was intended that coining was to be done, by the government, for any American laborer who mined bullion or produced it by foreign commerce in a free trade exchange of his own wealth, to thereby enable him to conform to his privilege, political right or prerogative, to make it a legal tender in such a quantity that it established itself as a unit of measure, agreeing with the par of international exchange, and discharge debts without cost of depreciation of his wealth, the creditor being protected in like manner from being obliged to take any currency not of legal tender value, or of less value than gold.

The constitution evidently recognizes money to be wealth in the hands of citizens, its duty being simply to declare its worth, by weighing and stamping it. It could never have been intended that the government should buy and absorb the bullion in limited amounts, and make the coin for sale, because then the speculator could control it, and fluctuate values, as the Bank of England can do. If labor has an outstanding contract payable in legal tender, it has a right to mine or otherwise procure the bullion and have this money weighed and

stamped. The practice of the government buying the bullion in the market and coining for sale restricts free trade in American wealth. American labor should have all the gold it earned and have it stamped for himself to get its money currency value. There is then no danger of a glut, because if other values were marked up, it would be retired from use as money ; the tariff, however, not being for revenue only, but protection only.

Gold and silver are to be used as money only at their labor value, determined by the customs of merchants that are free and equal between themselves, and from charges by civil governments. It does not require each payment to be weighed out for tender. The constitution requires that Congress shall weigh it, putting on a stamp to denominate its weight, giving a name to each coin, bar or ingot, and a tender of this, or its equivalent certificate of deposit, is made absolute proof of compliance with contract for payment of a determinable value.

It is a certainty of American political science—although the false teachings of monopoly have intervened to corrupt its virtue and purity—that the Federal citizen has the right attaching to citizenship which cannot be disposed of, without a disposition of the government itself, to make gold and silver coin a legal tender, and gold valuation to be the unit of measure of all products, including silver, and free trade to take his own productions and exchange for the ore or bullion wherewith to have coined into this money, wherever he can find it, to prevent thereby its costing more than it is worth, be it either among American natural resources or from abroad, rather than submit to overcharges of monopolies of

American improvements on mining resources, to produce bullion therefrom.

It was never intended by the sources of American political power—its own labor—that there should be a corner in the improvements upon the American sources of gold, any more than there was on the sources of other minerals, water, and products of the soil, nor sources of wealth used for transportation, like railroad easements.

It is by this means that protection is assured to every citizen, in settling his domestic and foreign exchanges, against depreciation in the value of the wealth he produces. In other words, American political science teaches—when freed from monopoly manipulation—that the American laborer, no matter how humble, has a right to invoke the power of his government to protect him from being compelled to submit to the cost of barter, and also to over and unequal taxation of his wealth by suffering what debt entailed by law upon American industry involves, that of being compelled to use credit, paying interest therefor, instead of his own paid-for legal tender for currency, through monopoly prevention of his free trade, by which he is compelled to take less than real value for the products of his labor that some monopoly favored by political partisanship shall have gratuities by this robbery.

It is an impairment of the political contract of American labor with its government if there is not a free trade use of its wealth, to obtain the requisite legal money for the citizen to protect himself in his family rights—a destruction of the national rights of States, so governed—a loss of national freedom by such entangling alliances.

If one producer does not make as intelligent use of

this right as another and acquires less wealth by free trade, this is an effect that no civil law can alter. But what is the benefit of great individual wealth, if all labor be co-operative? An equality of right, does not imply an agrarian distribution of wealth, but the reverse. It only implies complete protection to those who acquire it to have free individual use, with no invasion of those rights, either by agrarian powers on the one hand, or monopoly power for distribution of wealth on the other. Both of these are anarchial, in that they tend to destroy the office of civil government in its power for equal protection of all wealth alike, to facilitate co-operation of labor.

These conditions of equality must be maintained by preventing arbitrary or fiat money variation of values of wealth, by which its producers must suffer, for speculative purposes. Speculation is, however, a natural right, if confined to contracts between individuals, with no political power exercised officially to establish monopolies.

The great justice to the rights of American labor to-day, in having all public debts to be funded only into greenbacks, to be recognized as legal tender, is to quicker restore the equilibrium of foreign exchange.

American industry's political condition of free trade is such that it will make the money of the constitution pre-eminent over all other forms of money currency of the globe, and its immigration for homestead to this land of liberty—this great federation of sovereign United States or nation's industries, for protection of natural rights of labor of all by one imperial power. It will make this constitutional money of gold and silver coin

to be more valuable than any form of money currency of Europe, for exchange of all the products of all neutral nations. Its free trade power will transfer the wealth of the globe from Europe to America, showing European industries—in fact the labor of the world—the way to gain the rights due to them.

This is the only condition that will make America the centre of foreign exchange, with New York as the world's emporium of wealth; because the currency of gold and silver never depreciates the value of other wealth. It will therefore be the most valuable to American commerce as the unit of values, and for the labor of all nations to use as the medium of their exchanges. It will be the great motive for all nations having natural exchanges, to offer them, taking American coin at par with other products, making it the unit of measure of their values, well knowing it will buy them American wealth of full value.

SILVER.

There is a popular belief that the government can make the money market easy, through buying silver bullion, coining and offering it for sale. Monopoly interests, taking advantage of this fact, ask the government to do it, aiming to speculate at expense of public interests.

Silver in fact is not protected in its real profit, but is sold on account of charges on it, at below Federal relation and natural value. If there was free trade for it—from all penalties in cost of production—there would be no more silver produced than would realize good profits. Those producing it would not be obliged to be without demand, not being restricted in finding other good employment. The labor market being free, can buy raw material having no bounties on them, and simply apply itself to the product of other wealth in better demand, which would make them good wages. It cannot do this under monopoly conditions.

There appears to be no complaint among a majority of producers of silver about the extra cost of its productions, on account of tariff restrictions for revenue, for which its production is over and unequally charged. Their policy is—to agree to let other monopolies—those of other natural resources—tax the public interests by means of this form of tariff restrictions.

Advocates of governmental control and distribution of wealth by means of a tariff for revenue out of American labor only, aim to compel the people, through the

agency of the government, to buy this silver at its enhanced cost of production, whereby other landlord monopolies have gotten their wealth. They do not object to this charge, if the government will throw its cost on other American labor, as a pure penalty charged up in enhanced price of subsistence.

Rather than be out of the system of monopoly protection of wool, iron, coal, lumber, &c., it wants its chance to tax American industry's wealth, in its own way.

It agrees that these shall have their monopoly privileges by means of tariff restrictions, which it cannot have, because silver can be so easily smuggled; but expects for helping to make the present party power, that the government will absorb silver into its vaults as its public property, which the public has no use for at its present cost of production.

The office of the government, as the agent of American labor, is only to protect its interests, not accumulate wealth, not deal in it, although this wealth is money. Silver bought at an enhanced price and cost of production—of enough to cover the profits of landlord monopolies—is intended to be issued as fiat, government money; instead of the government adopting the standard of the unit of measure between nations, whose labor is free enough to have a free trade among neutral nations—more than enough to make only its own foreign exchanges, like France.

This silver can have only its natural market as money, having commodity value, so long as gold is the standard unit of measure of all other values. The policy of any silver coinage act is—under monopoly control—to compel the government to buy and hold all possible, as a

government monopoly, out of the market, while a market is being made for the balance, that will only destroy the value of that which the government has bought—when it desires to realize and get out of all possible debt—by which the people must be heavy losers at that time under the present government control of the production of American wealth.

Already the government has a stock of silver coin on hand, for sale at fiat value—the value of gold for what has actually cost less. It therefore finds it unsaleable, the legal tender fiat of the government not endorsing it. There is no profit to American industry thereby, but the value of all its wealth is lowered by the government holding any gold or silver as a deposit—without demand or use, that should pay public debts. It causes the lien for debt on American wealth, for interest on the increased public debt for money so held.

When American industry clamors for more money, because it is hard pressed for credit to carry its debt with, no amount of money held as assets by the government is of any use. American industry is too poor, therefore cannot buy that money, having nothing to buy it with. It can have no profitable use for it, but it deprives itself of that much wealth, that could be applied on account of its public and private debts, and stop the perpetual debt of interest to that extent, now accruing.

The influx of California gold did not alleviate this condition. No amount would, so long as American wealth is taxed in penalties—not protected from such charges.

There cannot be a bi-metal legal-tender money established, without taxing all the fluctuations of the market

value of bullion, comprising this money, out of the value of all other wealth, within its jurisdiction, from American labor only, into the hands of monopolies. At best, gold must be the standard of value to be adopted as the unit of measure of the value of all other wealth, including silver, although silver may be equally the money of the constitution as well as of nations. Gold in fact will be the actual money, for unit of measure in making foreign exchanges, if silver should be made legal tender, which would be then used, only within its legal tender jurisdiction. It would then be the unit of measure, of values of all other wealth, making a nominal local standard of values, but gold would be the actual money used for settlements of international exchanges.

Our forefathers did wisely, for securing to American industry the highest value for its products, against depreciation, by making the controlling unit of measure of all international exchange among merchants, the legal tender for all amounts, to be gold, without putting any fiat value on it. This will make silver no less money. It will be subsidiary, only as it is more costly to handle and is not a unit of measure of values.

To have a bi-metal legal tender for all values, would be simply to permit every one producing gold and silver, to have them coined, and a forced issue be made on the people, as fiat money—without endorsement. Popular beliefs—that gold and silver can be legal tender for any amount—are by those who think it is the duty of the government's office to buy limited amounts of bullion and coin it, determining how much is needed for currency. The precedents of the government favor this course, but they favor also the taxation of the profits of

labor. Both are false in principle. Without doubt, all trade should be free for the gain of American labor. The office of the government is to coin all offered.

The constitution makes no guarranty of value. It selects gold for legal tender, and stops. To amend the constitution and permit a system of bi-metal money, co-ordinate in right of being legal tender, would convert the natural rights of the States, by an act of insergent revolution, to imperialism. It would put it into the power of monopoly to impair the obligation of contracts. It would establish a government involving no responsibility to the people for variation of values caused by its power. Such an one would not stand the friction of ages.

The principles of Christianity are a sword, ever at work destroying such governments, teaching nations which will heed its counsels, how laws should be made that will be permanent, because protecting the natural rights of man—such as no civil government can impair, without sowing the seeds of its own destruction. Two units of measure, that are inherently variable in value, cannot be a money establishing a uniform unit of measure of value for all other wealth.

What is needed, to cause silver to have all the purchasing value to American labor, the Federal relation provides, is to remove tariff restrictions from the free trade in all American wealth, embracing silver in this protection as well as wool, cotton, &c., and using greenbacks while the government is in debt, until they can be retired because the public interest demands it, to stop all public obligations from having force. It will cost so much less then to produce silver, that there will be a

better perpetual demand for it, because of no fear of depreciation.

Gold being required as the unit of measure of values of products, among the merchants between nations—if not among those too poor to have any, like China, India, Mexico and South America, the makers of the Federal Constitution could not reverse this order of things, without injuring American foreign free trade. They intended imperial protection to American industry in that it should have full protection in its own foreign commerce, and not be classed among those nations so poor that silver and tokens would be their money bought cheap and sold dear for circulation. Gold being less weighty, other things being equal, makes it cheaper money, hence more profitable, but silver is none the less money at its real value.

Silver, then, must be subsidiary, so far as it is made legal tender, in such amounts only as will be subdivisions of the gold denominations, it then being fiat money with the government endorsement, the people by their government giving it the legal tender value, in small change, consequently its free trade, and standing any loss of value from its use.

Silver, being also the money of nations as much as gold, it may be very advantageous to put the government stamp on bars of it, denoting its weight and thereby legal evidence of its commercial value, for all who offer it for this kind of coinage, and store it at public expense for benefit of its owners, issuing certificates of amounts so coined and deposited to cheapen its cost of exchange, to give it currency among all nations, and en-

hance thereby its purchasing value, as a means of acquiring foreign wealth.

This would in no event exercise an imperial prerogative over the States, not empowered by the contract of the Federal relation. Accepting it for custom or other government dues, would be an imperial act of the Federal government; destroying the autonomy of the States.

American institutions do not give any indorsement, as to the value of gold—by its currency, although it is made a legal tender, and the only standard of measure for all other values. It should not of silver, or accept it at a value it cannot compel the people to accept it at, thereby making itself a speculator in it, or the guarantor of the profit of a speculator in it.

INTEREST.

The wealth produced by free trade use of capital—becomes in the nature of profits of partnership for co-operation of capital with labor—a definite, liquidated assessment of profits out of this co-operation agreed on as to amount, under the name of interest or income.

This is the natural fund from which interest accrues, permitting lawful, justifiable, honorable, educated classes of co-operative income wealth—the correct political condition of the educated classes. This condition of freedom, partnership and co-operation does not generate usury or penalties. It does no wrong to labor, but rather co-operates with it for mutual benefit. The profits are natural-surplus or accumulations, leaving better wages or more wealth, as the net product for benefit of labor than otherwise, elevating industry thereby.

This is the condition only under full protection of labor, as the constitution provides, where wealth is free from all liens of over and unequal taxation in the nature of penalties, so that in having the use of credit or capital, interest becomes in the nature of a partnership. Under these conditions, labor makes profits, by saving them in cost of living, making products for use and free trade with less labor.

Under the unconstitutional use of official power making monopoly the only condition of exchange,—nominally interest, but really usury—becomes only in the nature of a charge of penalties on the production of wealth, for the support of an income aristocracy without equivalent

return. Wages are poor and cost of living is high thereunder.

Under this political status, capital must be borrowed only of monopolies, subjected to restricted conditions whereby labor gets no profits. Therefore wealth cannot be retained by producers, by a natural acquirement or distribution. The profits attaching to it after subsistence is taken out for labor's daily support becomes the capital of monopolies. This is not by co-operative, natural exchange, but by mere force of law; penalties being paid as pure tribute for means to labor. Wages must thereby be depreciated in their necessary exchange value to industry. Labor must thereby become poor. .

These profits, as capital in monopolies hands, have power to charge for their use on the very industry producing them, usury or penalties. A fair division of profits to labor—such as would occur under free trade co-operation of labor and capital—is not made thereby. The excess is usury. Labor is deprived of all the benefits of co-operation that would enable it to produce wealth for itself, and be protected in producing it. There is no justification for revolution under American institutions for the wrong thus accomplished, because of trade restrictions taking all profits or capital from labor, then forcing it to borrow that capital for use, making the penalty a law-inflicted condition. American labor thus suffers from its own neglect of public duties. It must learn to protect the public interest and leave private interests to take care of themselves, which would save it from oppression. It must take drastic measures with any attempt by monopoly to pair off its vote with the venal vote. There would be a good deal of pallia-

tion for any personal assault on a monopolist who would so wrong American labor in all its family relations as ordained by Creative law, by the political servility it is suffering under such conditions, if there were no prevention through the power provided, by American institutions. The American voter—as his great duty, must strive to educate his fellow voter who is responsible by his vote for any oppression of labor. Defying the law without reforming the voter will never relieve labor, which is in a large majority, and is able to defend American institutions, if it will unite for this imperial purpose.

The present politico-industrial bondage of American wealth to a condition of perpetual debt, because American labor is denied free trade, forces usury from this labor. This status is not the life of industry, protecting in equality of liberty, but is rather a penalty on, than a profit for, labor.

There is any amount of credit, listed as capital or assets, willing to loan itself, even on the security of unproductive wealth, and rights of possession, having a value as natural monopolies, if the security is good for the credit loaned, together with the penalties of usury, that are contracted to accrue. There is very little labor that can pay all these penalties of taxation or bounties, growing out of the present tariff restrictions and other monopolies.

It cannot make profits, equal to current charges for use, certainly for the use of capital not having its value determined by legal tender coin as its unit of measure, but of credit inflated in price or value because the present American credit currency has not the actual convertible value of the gold it nominally represents without a sacrifice of American wealth.

Good times are those in which labor can earn natural profits, because protected in securing full exchangeable value to producers. Bad times are those in which labor cannot produce without being forced by laws to yield its profits to monopolies—to part with these profits as usury to such monopolies. In good times the preference will be to invest capital or accumulated profits in co-operative business with labor, for the chances of profits—rather than loan them to draw toil-money, usury, anti-Christian money, oppression-money, labor-degradation money, as the only alternative, because the law forces capital otherwise to be idle.

The fact that capitalists will not invest in business, but only loan money on its security for usury or penalties, is evidence of poor, hard times, in which it does not pay good profits for producing wealth, and that industry is hopelessly in debt, the borrowing being made necessary to stave off acts of insolvency, which must come periodically to those drawn into the current without support.

This preference, either way, is the test of whether there are restrictions or not, laid on labor in the production of wealth. If of the former, credit will be in the market to loan on security—for the usury or penalties to accrue, for the establishment of purely monopoly income existence. If of the latter, capital will be invested in business for profits—if not loaned on a co-operative basis of profits—as being more profitable than interest or usury. The former condition is called hard times—hard for labor and easy for speculation to make profits. The latter good times, when wealth is produced that bears profits to the producer, industry paying better than monopoly.

In good times, every laborer is co-operative for self and mutual interest, and helps make profits for his fellow laborer. In bad times, one gains at cost or wrong of the other, who receives no equivalent, the successful scalping speculator being the monopolist; his fellow being poorer than the law of nature, and American institutions provide he shall be in proportion to his labor.

The power, of protected private interests or monopolies, makes for the effect of a perpetual debt of usury, as a penalty only, because of inevitable debt, beyond the strength of industry, to resist the power of the government brought to bear down on it, to avoid this debt. This usury comes only out of the production of wealth of American labor—a government-exacted revenue for the support of an aristocracy of monopolies—profits to industry for the use of borrowed wages or capital, not being their natural amount, not enough to pay the penalties exacted and leave lawful free trade wealth to industry, but only the wages of daily subsistence of degraded, servile toil.

Interest thereunder becomes pure, oppressive toil to procure penalties. Wealth thus becomes more and more a monopoly, used to draw income from the manual producers of manufactures, houses, railroads, &c., that have no raw materials of their own, or any monopolies from which to obtain them.

If the American labor's capital be free from all unequal conditions of protection of rights that involve depreciation of its value, the loaning of it for a part of the wealth produced by its labor-saving use, as a reward, implying a partnership of profits, agreed on in an amount called interest, is an agreement that involves no hard-

ships, but a public benefit, because of the facilities it offers for an increased production for producers themselves—not for monopolies of them.

The contrast between American and Chinese industry, would be more apparent than it is, if the American was more politically free in its production of wealth. The American would be the richer and more intelligent class. The latter is in any event, even with the privilege of free institutions, a prey to all forms of monopoly and oppressions, a degraded, ignorant, heathen soul, with not light enough to admit the Christian truth, of the brotherhood of man, a subject of those superstitions that always afflict and darken a human soul, making its possessor incompetent as a class, for self-government—its wealth correspondingly low, itself too degraded to be able to use capital and pay interest thereon for the profits it could make, hence make no profits and have no capital.

Why is not English capital loaning itself and taking liens on Chinese wealth, rather than American, and avail itself of cheaper labor to make it? Because it is less valuable in proportion to cost. There is too much cost of subsistence, too little surplus or profit. This is the reason—party rule at Washington, in favor of private interests, not prevailing—why American products would be the most valuable for foreign trade against all other competing products, and American industry the richest. They are so valuable, that it would be profitable to buy them at the highest prices, as more profits could be obtained from the product of American than Chinese industry by free trade.

There being then no monopoly of wealth, the contract for interest is not a penalty, but a free trade co-opera-

tive production and distribution of wealth, without being a tax on production, but a premium on profits. This makes an option—without a sacrifice or depreciation in value—as to whether it will pay better to borrow capital on interest to be used by self employed labor in plant, &c., for the profit gained by the use of it, or else produce capital by original, primitive labor, acquiring it by development, to be used in like manner by the owner. This option will break down monopoly terms of interest or cost of borrowing. Absolute protection by any government of the free trade of its own labor, therefore must dispense with all usury laws, governing the rates of interest, as being not only unnecessary and superfluous, but absolutely restrictive of labor in its industry to secure wealth.

Wealth then, all being free from all penalties, will be so protected that it will suffer no penalties of depreciation because of charges for usury, but make perpetual profits for both borrower and lender, rather than be in a political condition of perpetual debt entailed on the producer, only to support a purely income class, but not for the public interests.

These oppressions prevent labor owning its own capital, which under these political conditions is then loaned to it by monopolies, for those penalties called interest. Creating a government monopoly to issue and loan credit for currency in limited amounts, whether made a legal tender or not, protects the arbitrary expansion and contraction of the current value of products, without being governed by the natural laws of supply and demand, in fact traverses those laws, politically so where the government restricts the free trade of its own labor. Labor

is thereby liable to so suffer by enhancement of those necessities it must purchase, and depreciation of those for which it must find a market, to enable it to perform its contracts, that it may find itself insolvent at any time, although actually producing enough wealth, which, under free trade conditions, would always keep it solvent. These conditions that result in unforeseen insolvency are invariably caused by laws to favor private interests by taxing penalties out of public interests, making the industrial community that much poorer, and an income class that much richer, by these sudden evolvments of values.

The precedents of law decisions therefore by the courts of the land, that it is only optional with Congress to pass bankrupt laws, are flavored with traditionary ideas, that are as much at variance with the spirit of American institutions, as are tariffs for revenue, rather than protection and the coinage duties of the government and other precedents. In fact, monopoly being represented—rather than those rights that pertain to the protection of labor—the established Courts of Justice have not been fully informed by their law officers of the fundamental principles of American institutions that should be their guide. Individual against individual interest has been brought into court, instead of there being proper provision for the State to champion the rights it is bound to protect, by being a party on one side.

FEDERAL BANKRUPT LAWS.

There becomes an ever present necessity for remedial laws, growing out of inevitable results that must occur to some—of bankrupt or insolvency. These occur mostly under political conditions which force penalties out of profits of labor, making its political condition that of earning but a bare existence. This condition has no justification under natural law, nor under American institutions, but is made in violation of them to suit the behests of monopolies ; by partisans in power whose defense of traditions and precedents, procured by corruption, set at naught the spirit of the constitution and liberties secured by our forefathers.

Bankrupt laws should exist to co-operate with and relieve industry from oppressions, that do not benefit, but only impede the operation of laws that preserve society—those laws that impede labor. Special suffering must come to some in a greater or less degree from the political exactions of over and unequal taxation of pure penalties on labor, which is a result of a policy of favoring private interests only—a policy derogatory of the commonwealth of industrial co-operation. This is a result of constructing monopolies with special political power for oppressing American industry into a condition of mere toil, verging on want, degrading labor's family relation and children by their heartless cruelties, in the broad Christian light of to-day.

It is a political oppression, for one class of citizens—to whom society lets the portions of its own natural resources, which this class holds in trust only, for public

uses, to be handed down to coming generations—that such citizens be invested with special power to look down from their defences, of Federal tariff fortifications, neither using themselves, nor permitting others to use for a fair equivalent, the means necessary to maintain human life in the estate it was created to exist, and thereby absorb the wealth that labor produces, by means of bounties only, leaving it poor, and therefore creating an income-class, wealth-power, and secure, for that class, laws for the issuance of a monopoly credit for currency in limited amounts, the safety and profit of the issuer—not the public interests—being the criterion, with all these attendant conditions that produce insolvency.

Such is the anti-Christian, cruel, inhuman result of imperial oppression of the policy the people has appointed to absorb their wealth. It is pledged to eternal enmity against American labor. There can be no compromise. Its total extinction is the absolute necessity for the preservation of American institutions—if they are to be republican in spirit as well as in form. Under such a policy, if a man loves his home, with its hills, valleys, waters and climate—if the shadows of the skies on the landscapes, and the breezes that have fanned and refreshed the face of his youth, have become dear to him from the associations of childhood—he can enjoy them only on condition of toiling to support a ruling class; or, as selfish men with tyrannical anti-Christian spirit would say, if he does not like these things, he is at liberty to go to some other country.

This, however, is not the law of Christian ethics, nor of American institutions. It is the cruel law of tyranny, that is beneath the spirit of American liberty. What

should cause the blood of American labor to boil with so much fierceness, as that the venal vote is provided by the wealth he produced, to pair off with his vote, and make the result declare, that he cannot live under the American flag except as a toiler to support a ruling class, and then be told, that majorities and not constitutions and Creative power, rules, and he may go somewhere else? He may if he does not like it, work his passage to join the Boers of South Africa in founding a republic of liberty. This is what the party in power says by its acts, but who that is an American freeman will not strike back in the face at such an exile lot?

Such cruel conditions are tolerated under British institutions and have been transplanted to American soil. There has been some Providential relief afforded by forced emigration, to escape human oppression.

Such political conditions cause labor, as a class, to be too poor, poorer than civil-law society should permit, to retain blessings of a Christian dispensation. They force to be poor, if one must labor to live. For that reason alone, Federal laws decree, labor shall have nothing. They force it to obtain the use of credit, paying usury therefor, because they force it to inevitable debt, in order to obtain the capital necessary for more economical production. The law provides no compensation to American labor therefor. It must submit or perish. American landlordism bids fair to outdo the same class of oppression in Europe, as population increases. The power to make tariff restrictions and money monopolies is unlimited in the bad precedents prevailing, making thereby American landlord taxation unlimited. It buries the spirit of American institutions under the letter.

Some craven lackeys of oppression of American labor, who are ready to bid everybody to migrate who does not like this state of things, while they are dressed in monopoly-regulation outfit, are ready to say, what has all this got to do with bankrupt laws? of which they are as ignorant of their purpose, as they are of the nature of personal liberty under American institutions established by our forefathers. Let us see further on.

There is a barrier, although a very unreliable one under American institutions, against such oppressions. This is the vote of industry itself. It is not used with effect, however. Labor is still without adequate protection. From past ages of oppressions, not having the responsibility of government in its hands, and not having learned from experience how to vote, it is yet incompetent to perform the duties required of it for its own protection and self-government. It has been subject to divisions and oppressions too long, and has not learned the science of government, although learning fast and sure, as it becomes an educated class.

British bankrupt laws prevailed to relieve certain classes only; those more immediately affected by such conditions, which should not exist under American institutions, to need any bankrupt law for relief of only classes.

Granting that these two conditions will not always exist, there is still a natural reason, why there should always be bankrupt laws in a society preserving capital, as store for society resting from labor and for economical production, organized under the rule and protection of civil law. Their necessity arises to protect from unforeseen loss—from death, war, rapine, fire, water, &c.,

for which there is no adequate insurance business provided.

The political condition of over and unequal taxation of one class—industry—by penalties before it can have necessities, is always attended by unforeseen results, such as cause periodical insolvency to individuals, and even governments. The result of this is an increasing perpetual debt, culminating periodically in financial collapses.

These conditions make it impossible to do other than a credit business. Having possession of wealth, it thereby becomes liable to unforeseen depreciation in value, and to being inconvertible to an amount that will prevent its owner getting into helpless debt, with sacrifices too heavy for carrying on a solvent business.

These conditions, among others like fire, flood, rapine, war, &c., and sudden loss from others who are made to suffer under like conditions, are liable to take away all the property of the citizen. His opportunities, to reproduce them and not be a charge on the public from constrained idleness or non-production, are denied protection. He is bound, on account of unfulfilled contracts involving penalties which become a lien on all new credit, thereby preventing his production of wealth.

He must be specially protected in his new production of wealth, from any lien or claim for the settlement of old demands. The lack of this protection makes it impossible for him to produce the wealth necessary for the common good of society. It restricts the would-be producer to ineffectual industry, compelling a failure to secure the elevation of industry ordained by Creative power. Bankrupt laws therefore become a necessity.

Otherwise he is left in the power of monopolies to use his labor to put down the value of all American labor.

Bankruptcy laws become a protection, beneficence and necessity, to meet all these established conditions, fraught with all their contingencies, and inevitable uncertainties of value of these products, intended to be used in exchange, to execute the terms of contracts.

Proceedings in bankruptcy step in, and determine that all the wealth parted with, shall balance that acquired, and leave the oppressed debtor to begin a new start in life, but free from penalties for debt, if there has been no fraud.

It is politically impossible for a State, after being federated into the government of the United States, to give full protection to a citizen's natural rights. It has assigned that duty to be enforced, only by the Federal power.

Without protection of bankrupt laws, intelligence must run risks, or else be forced to degrade itself to use no capital to assist economical production that would better provide labor its rest or Sabbath. It must be no more a producer than the aboriginal Indian, or the Asiatic, by hand labor, without the use of capital to increase production of wealth, and have it in store. The law, as dispensed by present majorities, regardless of constitutional protection of all, including minorities, gives American labor the alternative to work for monopolies, or produce just enough to preserve a degraded existence as the baser alternative, rather than run the risk of insolvency by being self-employed, using borrowed capital. It forbids American labor producing and possessing as free trade wealth, its own capital and manufacturing

plant. The capital this labor uses, cannot be its own, therefore it must be borrowed, and interest taken out of labor's profit for its use. The other alternative of society so poorly educated for its own protection, since it votes that only servile labor is permitted, as an American institution, is suffering or charity.

American occupation is therefore that of submitting to the servility of making monopolies rich, leaving all exported American production to the free trade of a foreign commerce of a Cobden Club quality.

American industry is thereby humbled in its pride and independence and made poor. It has no capital, or else what it possessed from free ancestry is being rapidly taken from it. It is restricted from having the employment of working at any foreign commerce to save the wealth it produces to be its own capital. Liquidation by insolvency goes on in some form or other all the time, in thus balancing exchange. Bankruptcy laws therefore become an absolute necessity, the only protection, adjustment and relief the law can afford, from this arbitrary condition of debt.

There is nothing new in this remedy. Moses commanded—not the pound of flesh, because it was so nominated in the bond—but that every jubilee year, all debts were to be forgiven, and the debtor if unable to pay, should not be oppressed, to force him to pay, in view of this year drawing nigh. This was enjoined as a religious obligation, to teach that under the Supreme law of Creative power, all things, the earth and the fullness thereof, natural resources and the products thereof, in the form of profits or capital, are to be held in trust by the labor producing them, with the duty to be dili-

gent in production, obeying the law designed for human beings to work out their emancipation from all oppression by the provision they make to support humanity—but not as monopolies, so mankind cannot reach them, which by their position in society, makes it more difficult to live by labor than if there was no wealth saved, but no monopolies.

The fathers of the Federal constitution made a part of it a special command or obligation, not to lie dormant, but to be executed. It enjoined that bankrupt laws should be put into force, by those elected to Congress to execute the trust reposed in them by the constitution, to enable the liberties guaranteed by the constitution to be fully executed in favor of, and for protecting those, receiving the injury done by the laws of tariff restriction, and other laws impairing the rights of the citizens, as well as from natural causes.

This, we may reasonably infer, was made the privilege of every citizen, for the purpose of protecting the rights of his wealth, and that without penalties, after he had honestly appropriated all the wealth he originally possessed, to execute his contracts. The constitution then provided—as a State right of protection of citizenship, the power delegated to the Federal government in trust—that it be executed.

It required the compliance of this contract, undertaken by the Federal relation in good faith and in its spirit—to do what the State originally was created with power to do—protect the citizen, in that he should not be debarred from following the duty, enjoined by Creative power, of unrestricted industry, for the purpose of his own support, that if he had no wealth with which to perform his contracts, there should be no penalties.

He was not to be taxed in penalties, for the performance of former contracts—the original provision for which having been lost, or depreciated in value beyond his control, rendered him totally unable to satisfy his contracts. That there should always be bankrupt laws in force, which would declare this delivery of all his wealth, to be a full execution and discharge of all his contracts.

It would appear from this, that Congress fails in its duty, in not always providing bankrupt laws.

For the constitution, to be only perishable and inoperable, not from being imperfect in itself, but because it is not allowed full development of its functions, is certain to be realized, if bankrupt laws, among others, are not maintained, to check the unnatural division of property, by oppression only. American enterprise or labor, having its full liberties, would rarely need such protection as bankrupt laws; because of being freed from arbitrary variation of values, such as any industry in a condition of perpetual debt caused by unequal-value exchange always suffers.

Bankruptcy laws are a check on monopoly. No wonder the party in power, holding its cue from monopolies, takes no notice of their need. Monopolies, however, do, and restrain all elements of political parties in power, so that there shall be no effectual bankrupt laws. If popular clamor will force the people's laggard representatives to establish them, following commercial paralysis for special immunity, monopoly's agency writes the text, and intends they shall never be in the spirit of the constitution, by making the court expenses oppressively burdensome.

The right, liberty or prerogative of the citizen, to have the Federal power provide the protection of a bankrupt law, on account of the transference of the national powers of the State to the government of the Federal relation, must have made it necessary to provide this shield to include against wrong done by laws of other nations, affecting American free trade resulting from their systems of over and unequal taxation, as well as by those made under the Federal constitution in violation of its spirit; which it might not be able to provide an adjustment of in other ways.

Hence bankrupt laws were designed by the framers of the constitution to be made as a perpetual part of the Federal code, to have the means, within the power of the citizen, to avail of this right, liberty or insurance; these being a necessary part of the full complement, designed to secure all the rights of American citizenship.

The complete code of laws, necessary to be executed, if the whole contract of the Federal relation as expressed by the constitution is to be invoked for the protection of the rights of labor to wealth—the supreme, natural rights to be secured—which embrace within this protection, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, include bankrupt laws.

So our forefathers declared in the constitution, leaving the conclusion that the contract with the citizen, made by society, for his protection, against force or trespass by majorities, as declared by the constitution, is impaired—the full rights of free trade, exchange or production of wealth are denied him, and full protection is not provided for all circumstances of loss, to which his

wealth may be exposed beyond his control, so long as bankrupt laws are not in force.

Another bill of rights respecting them is, that they be efficient and effective, by means of a cheap process of relief, to thereby not defeat their purpose. That they be not—as the last bankrupt law was—a conspiracy of official monopoly.

There is a settled, anti-Christian, anti-constitutional, irresponsible policy maintained at Washington, founded on aristocratic, imperial, ruling-class and a servile, toiling class, principles—on the destruction of the autonomy of the States—on all sources of civil power being imperial, and emanating from Washington, that there shall be no bankrupt laws in force, but a defiance of the power of the constitution and oaths of office of representatives holding government trusts to enforce them, because these militate against monopoly absorption of wealth.

THE INTER-STATE COMMERCE LAW.

This law was made for the exercise of sovereign national powers, inherent in the States, transferred to the Federal jurisdiction, for it to secure protection of the production of profits to American labor, and to cause their subservience to public interests; wherever this labor takes the form of producing carrying charges, if railroads traverse beyond the territory of State jurisdiction.

American institutions have made railroad's inter-State and international use of public easements, to be subject to the law of the Federal relation, to thereby protect the rights of American labor in its foreign exchanges, from all impositions that are not co-operative, but oppressive of its free trade rights—through exaction of penalties for profits.

The duties and rights of railroads, are pre-eminently those pertaining to public servants in the capacity of being common carriers. Railroads are therefore not parties governed by mutual free trade conditions, but their contracts must be primarily subject to public interests, that there shall be no unequal taxation out of the profits of American enterprise by them, that all shall be treated alike, that the prices of carrying charges shall be just and uniform. No more wealth shall be taken from any class of American labor, than enough to produce the rewards free American labor would obtain in a mutual exchange. No less shall be taken from one laborer by cut rates, to the damage of another by over-

charges. Railroads are thereby bonded servants and passive subjects to society, employed for reasonable compensation—as good profits as free American labor is entitled to in use of its capital, but no more.

Society and the State are the only contracting parties. The owners of railroads are the employees of society permitted by the State, and therefore subject to the wardship or protection of the State as American co-operatives. The State can compel them to labor for the public service and agrees that labor shall pay reasonable wages for that service, the State protecting society from overcharges, but not in withholding fair compensation. American possessors of railroads must not put any American labor in such a strait that it will not be able to produce as much of profits or capital as is its natural right, under American institutions, by overcharges. They are simply agencies appointed by the State, on its own terms. These terms are the privilege of appropriating portions of the lands for the private use of serving the public. These terms are not a subject of option of railroads—mutual agreement or no exchange—as between two citizens. The State provides railroads, for public uses only. Railroads have no free trade rights whatever. They possess only the powers that the State has specially granted them, but are on an equality with all other wealth, in that it is the duty of the State to protect the owners of the wealth invested in them from paying any penalties or bounties, or rendering any service without the equivalent due all American capital for its use, to any landlord or other monopolies. The law, for the privilege of free, exclusive use of these public easements for the profits arising from them as a natural

monopoly, reserves the right to determine what are reasonable charges, but by such acts must not deteriorate the value of wealth. There is no other means of protection of public interests.

The citizen need not be oppressed by the private use of public easements for farms, cities, mines, manufactories, &c., requiring special control of the State, because, if he is not wrongfully debarred by tariff restrictions that violate the fundamental law of his protection, he can bring into use foreign competing natural resources by using raw materials from them, and force the domestic holder to be fair and co-operative for self-interest. He cannot import carrying charges, that are his absolute necessity. The law does not require expatriation to acquire others.

If the Federal government possessed no trust to exercise its power over railroads for the protection of the rights of American labor, then corrupt legislation could be had—without remedy except revolution, or the competency of American labor for self-government—making such tariff restrictions as would establish a landlord class, and a servile industry. This industry, then not being able to hold its own railroads, among the loss of all of its wealth, and not being able to keep out of debt to foreign exchange, because of having only raw materials to export, would pave the way for a foreign rule of perpetual debt of interest over American labor, which could so gauge the prices of carrying charges that it could perpetually keep American industry poor, and force it to support a foreign ruling class, it being only American tenantry, its own government being thereby powerless to protect it, its Monroe doctrine nil.

There is scarcely a doubt but that this is the scheme of monopolies of Europe and America—presuming on American ignorance of public matters—acting in concert in formulating the policy of the party in power, as it now controls European governments, preventing protection of labor; and why they were so solicitous during the last Presidential canvass, and why one platform was made to announce its most prominent declaration to be, that “no part of the present system of American protection should be abandoned,” because such a policy will affect this result. Although contributions for campaign expenses were obtained through “fry the fat” circulars and other means, from patriotic American manufacturing labor, which would not knowingly be subject to conspiracies against American institutions; yet these failing, the sufficiency of Presidential campaign expenses would certainly have been made up by an unseen hand behind the throne at Washington, in conspiracies with money monopolies of Europe against American personal liberties—unless the compromised position of opposing parties let monopoly power to believe, that the present efforts for tariff reform for protection of American labor only, would be nullified.

Monopoly political science teaches, that imperialism of debt under present laws, will without fail develop the production of capital, only by a servile American labor owning none of it. This status will grow to be firmly established under the imperial power of perpetual debt of penalties of profits, for the law-provided support of a ruling class, and every year it will become more difficult to restore the political rights of American enterprise.

There seems no way so feasible for protection of the

natural distribution of property, and relieving American labor of all taxation of penalties on the production of wealth, by removing all its tariff restrictions, and assessing all money—not derived from tariff for protection only, with incidental revenue—for public uses out of the income from the use of capital that is non-resident; and prevent thereby the foreign rule of debt from crippling the freedom of American labor, as for the Federal government to assume trusteeship and control of all railroads, securing the capital invested its just rewards, and take all government expenses from the earnings. This by one stroke, relieves American labor of all over and unequal taxation of the profits it produces, to support a foreign income class. It will then begin to own its own wealth and buy back the railroad bonds sold in Europe, except where the income classes there will live in America, spending income, because living—by tariff protection of American labor only, by eliminating all protection of private interests—will be so cheap and good in America.

Remove all tariff restrictions—that will only generate monopolies of American wealth—so that American labor can own its own wealth to use; that is, those on all raw materials that labor can convert into its own wealth, and foreign subsistence that its own manufactures pay for by direct exchange.

The third great relief is the free use of greenbacks to the extent public debt exists and should exist for the public good.

These conditions will shift all taxation for public uses to income capital—such as now rests in Europe free from it—which will then be held by the American labor

class, although all of this class will not be actually laboring. Much of it will be living on the income of capital. Income classes, herein referred to, are those whose income is provided by the government, from penalties resulting from the political condition in which its labor is placed. Income from capital acquired through labor is the subject of lawful protection from bounty charges.

The present move in Congress making silver legal tender—the tariff for revenue still existing in principle—will enable it to pay the debts of foreign exchange for which American labor is responsible. Since, however, the legal tender qualities will cause silver to return, it will buy more railroad and manufacturing properties to support a larger income class than ever, thus by American toil making American resident wealth worth less, because of being thus more bonded. Carrying charges will grow to be higher, and ability to pay them will be less.

The removal of tariff restrictions for revenue only will be the great motive to make capital co-operative with labor, as its means for speculative exchange to thereby secure the profits labor has earned, will by such legislative protection of American labor, be cut off.

The government will then protect the production of wealth in use of carrying charges, by compelling their sale by the owners of railroads, for enough to pay expenses, interest or profits of capital invested, and the government expenses, and have no cut rates that favor one interest at cost of another, and so depreciate American railroad property, that it passes into foreign hands at less than it is worth to American labor.

No State shall recoup for the damages suffered, on

account of the failure of protection due by the Federal government. Labor must learn to vote to sustain public interest rule of the federation, over private interests, as the only means for political protection. Labor unions for educational purposes, and capital combines for more economical production of wealth, are all right, but their benefits are nullified by neglect to preserve the great public interests that must be protected; or else American labor will never have any unbonded wealth to protect. Legislation will then be a squabble of one monopoly getting the best of another, as it is in Europe.

States might—but for Federal party power, representing as it does, private or monopoly interests—be able to co-operate, and fairly correct the ground-work cause, that creates a clamor for corrective, protective, retaliative remedies, such as the inter-State commerce law. State political remedies must be by corrective Federal representation, forbidding resort to any means of perpetual redress for established political evils, and avoid causes for revolution, that Federal imperialism generate.

These would abate the fundamental evil—the over and unequal taxation on American productions caused by the present tariff—for-revenue-only—restrictions, and the establishment of a monopoly of credit currency.

United political, co-operative State representation in the Federal relation, would compel monopoly power at Washington to abdicate. This power is fostered only by Federal, arbitrary imperial restrictions on the attempts of American labor to produce wealth for itself. These restrictions force the capital of railroads to protect itself by recoupment for the damages suffered through protection of American landlordism. Their

method is by enhancement of prices for which they sell their carrying charges. If there is temporarily any cut rates—which should not be allowed, as being against the public interests—this is only a stock-jobbing deal, to enable American and European monopolists to buy railroad properties at less than they cost American labor, and then consolidate and draw still more oppressive income from its toil. Railroads are forced by law to make these overcharges to protect themselves, since the law does not protect them as American laborers. These overcharges become capital combines in their nature, as every other form of production of wealth must be for self-protection, under a system of civil law that protects private or monopoly interests only, at cost of public interests, exacting penalties from labor only, protecting the non-resident wealthy man from taxation on his capital, for enhanced cost of living.

The present tariff restrictions of costly, arbitrary, imperial, injurious regulations of trade, charging the production of American wealth, thereby making a tax of perpetual debt on productions of American labor, having for that object, robbery of the fruits of toil, is the cause—its correction the remedy.

There should be no inter-State commerce law, unless it is made under free-trade conditions for all American wealth.

Income wealth or monopoly—as a law-protected condition—differs from organization of capital for economical production. The former restricts free trade or production of wealth, charging all forms of wealth all their profits. Their charges are in the nature of penalties, without responsibility or equivalent in return.

Organization for economy of production, rendering more than otherwise of wealth for the same labor, raises the value of labor—yields it more profits or capital. Because some therefore make better wages than others, is no reason that they should be restricted in producing them. This is not the cause of others getting less wealth and being out of employment, as some maintain, who would destroy machinery, and use agrarian power for distribution of wealth. Such an ignorant industry is incompetent for self-government, and therefore permits these trade restrictions as the result of asking paternal bread, instead of every one using his own right arm to procure it—the sole cause of its poverty, because it demands paternal help, instead of paternal protection of its equality.

Organization is but the result of development, education, individual power of self-reliance and independence of free trade, depending on energy for the result, without oppression, but rather co-operative with other industry—producing more profits for itself, yet helping to produce more for others.

Organization is to be encouraged as a public good, because it makes more wealth for less labor.

That is only if American wealth is free from every restriction in its exchange, to thereby induce a demand for it, because more valuable. Otherwise this greater production of wealth goes only to monopoly, and makes labor more servile.

Railroads, as combinations of organized capital, are in their qualities among the most valuable of the age—on account of having the greatest labor-saving facilities that American industry produces and can possess. They

are therefore a public good—an indispensable necessity of American citizenship, if it is to have great wealth under a tariff protective of itself only, for its industry.

They improve the value of all other wealth, by their production, free trade and exchange of carrying charges. They make American exchanges at intrinsically less cost of carrying charges—with less labor, yet better profits—and in abundance enough, so that industry can elevate itself, and acquire the full dignity of American citizenship, by having produced a sufficiency of wealth with only reasonable labor, without toil, having time for all its educational and religious duties, and for refreshment and entertainment in those agreeable diversions man is capable of enjoying as a social, reasoning being, whose human nature has not been outraged by the oppressions of the civil law, into the practice of sensualism for pleasure.

On this account, to tax the capital of railroads for the gain of bounty acquisitions to any profits or wealth that are improvements on natural-resource monopolies, which are necessary to be merged with and make a part of the railroads, is to make them dependent and taxed, rather than independent, free trade wealth, and forces them to tax the profits of labor in prices of carrying charges.

How can they compete with Canadian, Mexican and Isthmus routes, if made by bounties to American landlords for equipment to cost more? It forces them for simple self-protection, because it forces to a greater cost in producing them, to require higher prices for carrying charges, out of American consumers, who vote these bounties. They therefore must be the agencies to impoverish, by taxing the production of other capital

higher prices for carrying charges, that would better patronize them by mutual exchanges if their wealth was free, also buy and own the bonds on them as American investments, with the capital that American labor can acquire, rather than have them owned by income, non-resident investors.

Present tariff restrictions prevent American industry deriving any benefit from the income it produces. American labor pays that income instead of receiving it.

Railroads being overcharged by American landlords that are protected by present tariff restrictions, must then also pay more for operating expenses, because all these are charged in like manner. Their local taxes also are more on account of this condition. All combined force the American labor producing them to get into debt and sell liens on them abroad too cheap, because of being deprived of a home market for the sale of bonds on them, American labor being too impoverished by these tariff restrictions on its free trade to be able to buy them. They are therefore sold in Europe, where monopoly wealth can scalp the taxed-into-debt wealth of the world into its own coffers for less than cost to produce it.

American railroads are forced to limit their production of carrying charges, and charge more for those they do produce, being restricted to a limited, non-co-operative, monopoly, taxed trade market for the sale of them. They can sell only a limited amount to meet all their government-inflicted over charges, being compelled therefore to charge enough to meet all these overcharges, on to American wealth only, not on foreign wealth, depreciating its value on this account. How can they avoid

this and keep their own credit good? How can they otherwise avoid depreciating their own value, since they have to pay bounty prices for all their expenses.

It is found necessary to do this, on account of Federal restrictions on their right of free trade. This alone prevents them from making their carrying charges cheaper, to the extent of being co-operative, free trade products. Their present political restrictions therefore prevent co-operation for the purpose of assisting to make manufactures low priced enough for a free trade foreign commerce, giving themselves, operatives, capitalists and all concerned good wages, by retaining profits of manufacture for division among themselves, rather than that these profits be absorbed by monopoly income aristocracies to be spent abroad, and leave the wealth of all concerned to be less, labor producing railroads included, because depleted of profits that go to non-producing monopolists.

The present industrial results, arising from their political relations, are—that the more profitable American wealth is, from the intelligence of her industry—in producing more for less labor—the more is it depreciated in value, by being restricted in free trade to secure good value, that would enable producers to themselves secure the profits they produce, by their opportunity to get the best or most valuable exchanges. Hence there is a demand for protected natural resources to tax labor in their use. This includes railroads. It could not be so if American labor was free to export any products it could make. Railroad's self interest would induce the surplus for export to be manufactures rather than raw materials.

Producers of railroad carrying charges suffer, among all the producers of American wealth, even if the bondholder in Europe is not shocked at the poor net wages earned for the labor of railroading in the American federation, in fact in all the Americas.

Railroads must become a political power as a party organization, going further and retaliating on the people's wealth, the more legislation by the people's representatives restrict their free trade.

Politician's sop, to quiet the people, who are only screwing the vice tighter, that pinches their own fingers, by their support of present tariff restriction, and the present inter-State commerce law at the same time, is thrown out in the form of the inter-State commerce law—during this contest of the wealth of the people against the railroads, for prior relief from the overcharges for bounties to landlord monopolies, prevailing on the cost of all production.

The result of the contest of conflicting interests, must be, that a large portion of the railroads will be so depreciated in value, that they will be picked up at way below their cost to American industry, by scalping speculators of Europe as well as America, American industry suffering all the loss thereby. They will then become the form of a great imperial monopoly landlord power, occupying easements beyond State control, making tenantry of American industry, from pensioners to the President—men in every calling of industry—the profits all going to where consumers are taxed the least to support income classes. Railroads can then afford to buy legislation, that will in the dog-eat-dog trade dispensation, favor their interests of monopolizing themselves.

To prevent this, the corrective political justice due them, as well as all other forms of Federal wealth, must be restored by the united Federal representative action of the States, in harmony with the spirit of the Federal relation.

Constitutional protection against any taxation by paternal government monopolies, on profits of American labor, including the capital of railroads, must prevail. Then an era of interested co-operation of railroads with all other American labor will occur. Then there will be more unredressed complaints of favoritism. No more injury from long and short haul differences. None for local taxes levied under State jurisdiction.

The political question is developing in the understanding of American industrial citizenship as to whether the State has any right to tax the improvements on public easements used as common carriers at all, they being international manufactories of wealth for the public. Whether can State equality be preserved, while this power of local taxation by State authority exists, it being a check on inter-State commerce, one State paying more toll on it than another, thereby causing the wealth of one State to contribute to the support of the institutions of another.

What protection the capital of railroads wants, is to be put on a constitutional par of value with untaxed wealth of the world's production. Such protection will enable them to compete with Canadian railroads, unless subsidized. This subsidy help is, however, an active factor, needing more protection of American railroads in their competing relations. American railroads must be free wealth to compete with those of Europe and

Asia, South America and Africa, that these latter be not able to furnish products for American consumption so cheap, that American manufactures will neither be made in competition nor for foreign exchange. They must have all the cost for their equipment and running expenses, free from penalty dues. All wealth of operatives, coal, ore, lumber, paint, iron, roads, manufactures, cities, harbors, &c., must be free from bounties in their cost of production, so that the producer offering them to railroads must not for self-protection, demand enhanced prices, because the law compelled him to pay bounties.

These must not be taxed in penalties, if railroads are to be independent, free trade capital, competing successfully with all foreign investments of like kinds, in their production of carrying charges.

The result will then be, that there will be no carrying charges earned, that will not pay profits and there will be every incentive of gain for American labor to invest in these improvements, to earn profits or income from the greatest possible use, because they can then make carrying charges so cheap.

The inter-State commerce law is not the relief American producers of wheat, cotton, vegetables, live stock, hops, wool, silver, copper, manufactures, &c., including railroads, wants. Under constitutional protection, of the independence and liberty of all wealth from every over and unequal taxation for penalties, the common law of society has well defined principles of right, obligatory on common carriers, which as well as self-interest prompt them to co-operation, thereby being politically protected in doing the public justice.

It must result with this protection, that the railroads' greatest interest will be co-operative, to foster the production of all forms of wealth along their lines, by their co-operation rather than tax that production, or to restrict its free trade in any way, even by over priced carrying charges, well knowing that free trade is their life. Cut rates will then not pay.

This would secure the patronage of all forms of wealth in exchange for carrying charges, with no fear of over-competition of railroads forcing to combinations for self-protection. They would prefer economy in production of carrying charges, to induce the exchange of other wealth for them.

Let American labor then be just in performance of its political duties under the constitution. Never lend itself to be used by its vote, as the exponent of popular errors. This will be necessary, in order to restore the spirit of the American Federal constitution, to be the protecting shield of the great liberties of free trade in American wealth, including that of railroads, from all charges of bounties by monopolies. They must be free to secure their own market, sale, exchange and consumption, by facilitating American foreign commerce. They must have free trade and independence, never be taxed without right, never dependent wealth, on monopolies but American labor, for employment. Never American liberties be impaired in the use of them. Americans be freemen ever. Tenantry, never. The sources of power emanating from the people through their own States, free from imperial control of political parties organized and seated at Washington.

THE EFFECT OF LARGE PERSONAL OR CORPORATE ESTATES,

LIKE THOSE OF THE VANDERBILTS, GOULDS, ASTORS, STANDARD OIL COMPANY, ROTHSCHILDS, THE ERIE CANAL AND OTHERS, ON THE VALUE OF WEALTH TO THE AMERICAN LABOR PRODUCING IT.

It is the boast of American institutions, that they have no establishment of, and no provision for, entailments on American sources of wealth. That these belong to the people in common, who are equally entitled to benefits derived from them without charge. That in renting them to individuals and corporations, their natural values for improvements are not to be used to draw revenues from the public, but are subject to taxation, as income investments for public uses. That it is the duty of the individual possessors to whom society has granted freeholds, to afford it the free use of them for what they are worth in profits for the free trade use of the capital of improvements which have been put on them, for the purpose of co-operating with the whole American political society of labor in procuring wealth therefrom. That the great reason of the duty of individual holders to render equivalent, equal, free trade exchange of their products of raw materials, is that American society asks no revenue for their individual use, although renting or granting freeholds to individuals, and has united all its States or nationalities under American institutions, which provide that there shall be no American or foreign landlord

power to exact any penalties for their free use, so that there shall be abundance of the sources of wealth—for all to use.

It is not the possession of large personal or corporate estates under personal condition of tenure, that oppresses the American citizen. These, under the protection of the fundamental law, unvitiated in their free trade rights, would only benefit him by their co-operation to make his wealth more valuable. It is the violation of the civil law, which is made to preserve the equality of right pertaining to this wealth in large estates, no more and no less than the equality due to the right of wealth of the humblest citizen that oppresses labor.

This is firstly through tariff restrictions on the production of wealth by American citizens restricting their own free trade; and secondly, the other great monopoly reserve of money from its free trade use as legal tender, that forces these large estates to become monopolies—however for self-protection only, let it be said in justice to the patriotism of every resident American citizen.

If personal entailments, or conditional contracts for holding the trusteeship, possession and control of wealth represented by improved real estate, including railroads, are made and handed down through succeeding generations of the same family, their following and co-operators; the mere fact of such forms of succession involving practically entailments of approved economical policies for their management of the wealth involved, is of itself perfectly lawful, and also according to the law of nature, because the personal right exists in the power of the living possessor, to break a family policy of protection,

which cannot attach to such estates to restrict their free trade against public interests.

There is no lawful objection to the holding of such estates, these being simply large bodies of free trade wealth, nor in the personal understanding had by families like the Vanderbilts, Goulds, Astors, Standard Oil Company and Rothschilds, or the State of New York in the use of its private estate of the Erie canal.

If these conditions become more powerful as private, unprotected monopolies, they are so because of laws like the present tariff restrictions, made to suppress free trade in the use of all taxed American wealth, including these estates.

The magnitude of the concentration of wealth under the management of one head, is perfectly lawful under American institutions. It is the violation of that protection that forces to recoup for damage done them by oppressive official power, on other unprotected wealth, not so strong to resist charges on their free trade or exchange.

Because large estates are more successful as monopolies, on account of the more industrious, thrifty, better educated management than others, and thereby there is more economical production of American wealth, this is no lawful reason why they should not have full protection of the law, since they are lawfully possessed. They should not be oppressed by restrictions like the inter-State commerce law, silver coinage law, or tariff restrictions, because laws have not been made in that spirit of Christian liberty, which the constitution only provides for, but to violate the rights of holders of property, and thereby these laws have been anarchial, destructive and

disintegrating in their nature, tending back from law and order to internal contentions, rather than co-operation. This is no reason for special legislation, like the inter-State commerce law, nor for a spirit of agrarianism in any other form to prevail against them. To touch large estates without lawful proceedings for protection of rights common to all, is as much a wrong as to touch the small estates of the poor.

Mere accumulation of American wealth, no matter how unevenly distributed as the result of enterprise, among those of American citizenship, is no wrong of itself. The wrong is political, in that American labor does not possess it. The greater the accumulation of wealth, necessary for the wants of society made without oppression of labor, and the more available and ready for exchange, as needed for distribution by free trade from all unnecessary restrictions, the better.

Unequal distribution of property, can only be a public good, however, in a society of perfect, equal, personal right in the use of wealth, to exchange in free trade-from-debt-of-penalties political condition.

Otherwise the condition involves monopoly of capital, because of the advantages accruing under unequal rights of wealth growing out of tariff restrictions on American free trade in her own wealth, instead of these restrictions lawfully intended against any form of foreign production, that would work wrong to the profits of American industry.

Commodore Vanderbilt, an American citizen, would have produced his American carrying charges of American free trade foreign commerce, using his American co-operative capital of ships all over the globe, cheap

enough for American manufactures to have made them their own natural, mutual co-operative medium of exchanges, and that without subsidies. He would have done it by direct exchange with those nations that could buy as much in value of these, as of those produced by other nations, in exchange for their products.

The reason why he, an American citizen, did not do so, was not because of incapacity or unwillingness of American industry to produce the wealth of ships, fuel, ship stores, equipment, &c., at their free trade value, but because tariff restrictions, on American free trade, made it possible for private interests of monopolies to charge so much for raw materials, that it compelled him to pay more as an American laborer for his capital, consisting of ships, fuel, equipment, &c., and to ask enough more for carrying charges than he was satisfied to work for, as good enough American wages for himself, to meet the costs for the enhanced cost by bounty charges for ships, fuel, ship stores, &c., that American producers of manufacturers could not afford to pay him his price, and have enough left to secure themselves good profits, since they also were under the same ban, that of supporting pure bounty income landlord monopolies. These bounties took all their manufactures come to, to pay the bounties, which thereby killed American foreign commerce, forcing so many to be idle at home, all imported exchanges to cost more American labor to acquire them, and a foreign perpetual debt of interest to be saddled out of the profit of American industry, to support an European aristocracy.

The lackeys of monopolies are ready to affirm, that tariff restrictions as levied, are not taxes at all, that

there is no need of buying anything abroad, and that no one need pay the penalties of custom duties if he does not wish to.

Is there then no political wrong depreciating the value of American wealth, and thereby destroying its free trade foreign commerce? Let any American citizen say, if he can, that he is not forced to be either under penalties for supporting monopolies, or to pay a custom duty on imported necessary products! Is he not injured in the value of the wealth he possesses by such tariff restriction? Does it not cost more of his profits or capital, be they silver, gold, lead, wheat, cotton, wool, shoes, cloth, railroad, carrying charges, &c., to live on, under these conditions? Is his then a free trade condition at all? Is he not restricted in getting as good value for his products, which are the wages of his enterprise, as the Federal relation, unviolated by tariff restrictions for revenue out of them, would permit? Is there not an extra cost or charge put on them? Is there not a penalty, for no wrong done, taken out of labor's profits only to support bounty prices of monopolized American raw materials, that could not exist without these tariff restrictions?

Is not the only capital produced by American labor, that is not bonded as soon as produced, to contribute to support of domestic and foreign income classes and the support of the government, the non-resident capital? Is it not loaned to American labor, escaping taxation by being non-resident, its owners employing foreign labor to provide their living? Is not wealth of American labor depreciated thereby, and that to support income classes abroad? Is not resident or national capital thereby of

less value to American labor? Then does it not thereby have less wealth for its industry? Does it not receive less wealth on account of tariff restrictions on American free trade, such as drove a Vanderbilt—an American citizen crushed out of foreign free trade by mandates from Washington made to serve private interests—from the sea and consigned his vessels to rot at their wharfs, by depriving him—without recompense for his political privileges—of the loss of the free trade pertaining to his wealth as a Federal right of American citizenship? Was not this Vanderbilt—an American laborer—deprived of the enterprising liberties of American labor under the Federal relation in making a market for his wealth abroad, to obtain a fair value where there was a mutual free trade demand; there being no home demand at so good value in profits or capital for the great amount he, an American citizen, was capable of producing with the use of labor-saving devices, which intelligent American labor provided him to co-operate with?

Was he not forbidden thereby to increase his accumulations of American capital or wealth by his American labor and forced to speculate, or else bottle up his restless energies? Was not all this done that there might be built up an American aristocracy of monopoly of natural resources, as an irresponsible taxing-power over American labor—the base of the social and industrial fabric of a new order of imperial, anti-American institutions; humbling the pride of an American citizen willing to be independent and self-reliant, providing his own wealth by his own energies, because enough of his co-laborers with the venal vote declared that there should be a political policy to rob him of his profits as

fast as produced to subserve private at expense of the public interests? Was it not intended that this imperial policy should thereby be a part of the fundamental law and constitution itself, by tradition and bad precedent? Are not these false-to-liberty precedents an argument used a good deal now-a-days as a justification for the still more obliteration even of the ruins of the fabric of American liberties of labor; just as vicious monopoly establishments have impaired the freedom of British citizenship, and the vigor of British liberty, under the common law of England, keeping unprovided labor in toil, by themselves becoming actually a part of the British constitution, established or engrafted on it during times of public financial stress? Was not the same opportunity of public distress by exhaustive war availed of to oppress American labor and take away its liberties without any need, in fact aggravating American financial stress, in defiance of constitutional provision for protection from all such oppressions; all this to serve monopoly interests—a policy the party in power has pledged itself to maintain by its last Federal policy platform?

Since tariff restrictions are now made, not for the public, but private interests, taxing the public interests only to give bounties for private gain, and all the fiscal revenue, and as they protect private interests, only within the realms of their jurisdiction, and can compel only American producers and consumers to disgorge them; then a Vanderbilt, or any other American citizen, must force his restless spirit of American enterprise to be still, or else confine the production of wealth to where the power of the Federal relation will protect, in forcing

enhanced prices from American consumers, to thereby secure natural profits at cost of his co-laborers—to get enough only to pay for bounty charges, and have no profits perhaps.

He cannot do this abroad, because foreign products have less bounty charges, and have therefore free trade, to undersell him. His own wages are taxed, not for public uses, therefore are not protected in the spirit of American institutions. He is restricted from free foreign trade because of bounty charges on his wages before leaving home. He can, however, force American producers of these products, whose home market is destroyed by tariff restrictions, to pay his prices, they having no other alternative, although he would prefer a free-trade foreign commerce status, so he could also do the American foreign commerce with her manufactures.

Mr. Vanderbilt does not find as good a market abroad for his wages, under a tariff that makes American producers pay all taxes, and bounties besides. He knows he can get full value at home, at expense of American profits of labor. He can be a monopolist for carrying the American products of gold, silver, copper, wheat, cotton, &c., for export by compulsion under these American free trade restrictions. There is no help for it. If the inter-State commerce law should stop him from making himself good wages, he need not make any. Compelling him to lose his charter rights would not help labor. The market for these artificially surplus products of wheat, cotton, wool, silver, &c., would be still poorer. Perhaps the wealth of corn would become the low grade wealth of fuel, instead of meat, tea, coffee, &c., and the wages of cotton become fertilizers, instead of cloth, oil and all American imports.

The policy of the party in power is, that the big fish shall by political right eat up the little ones. They must do it. The law forbids them any other food. This was not the purpose of the founders of the Federal government. The man, more opulent and intelligent, may under present dispensation, appropriate the wealth of the man of family without equivalent, who must toil too hard to become intelligent enough to protect his own wages, by giving the necessary time to speculation that the law gives bounties to. This man of family should be protected in having the free trade value of profits there is in his wages, from all monopoly prices, in exchanging them, to apply to the education and elevation of his family, so that its members will not consume the profits saved for his old age, but be better accumulators than he has been, by development. At present American citizenship cannot retain the profits or capital it produces, but monopolies absorb them. The members of each generation start out poorer and more dependent than their fathers.

A Vanderbilt, a Gould, an Astor, a Standard Oil Company, a Rothschild—with the aid of American monopoly protection—will acquire liens on every form of American wealth, principally railroads—because these are more directly under Federal control, and can be better made to yield revenue by absorbing the profits of all other American wages, payable as interest on bonds and stocks, which escape all taxation in fact, drawing pure, net income; the corporations having possession of the wealth of improvements on which bonds are secured, paying the local taxes, and issuing the contracts of stocks and bonds without locality, liens on mines, manufacto-

ries of cloth, lumber, beer, flour, salt, &c., capital coming from Europe, if there is not enough at home, its income to be spent in Europe, to thereby get support in Europe by the profits arising from the production of toil by American industry.

How then do American entailments or successions become established in perpetuity—in the nature of landlord interests of Europe, but more powerful, and yielding better profits? How is the law of the constitution violated, in establishing monopoly so effectually, that the Federal relation is ruled over by imperial power, and the sovereignty of the States is banished from the realm?

A Vanderbilt, an American laborer, retiring from labor, because American labor preferred to take its chances, protecting monopolies of American real estate and taking bounties all out of the profits of labor, foresaw that it was not difficult for demagogues to persuade the American people having possession of natural monopolies, into the belief that the more landlord monopolies existing, the better for each who has any land, so every one voted to make a monopoly of his produce of wool, wheat, potatoes, iron, coal, &c., &c.

They have been persuaded that tariff restrictions placed on foreign raw materials competing with their own, made their land more valuable, and thereby they got more wealth. They have believed this to be the only way to get any protection, they calling bounties or monopolies protection. He prudently, therefore, provided an estate, planted on grants of public easements, for his family, whereby he could beat the game of these incompetent self-protectionists by taxing other American consumers and co-laborers. He saw they could not

force bounty-priced raw materials on American labor only for home wants. This labor would refuse to produce wealth for exports, the profits to be slaughtered in such a purchasing market, where the monopolist only got them. These self-protectionists—not protectionists of the public interests, but of their own at cost of public interests—must sell their raw materials abroad, because they killed manufacturing labor for exports. He had control of transportation. They could not make the capital to provide competing routes. These landlord protection monopolists did not try to find a home market by making it profitable to home consumers to buy their products, but wanted the profits themselves without earning them, and American labor to toil for a bare living. They voted that American labor should toil for their profits, not its own. Co-operation was no element of their ideas of protection. Let labor work and landlords who can control supplies of necessities of life have the surplus, profits or capital, the condition in Europe from which American labor escaped, at cost of the revolution.

As a consequence of these monopoly conditions, and those of paternal government monopoly conditions of credit, supplanting the use of legal tender for currency, and the Federal unit of measure for the value of all other wages, there have been periods of insolvency, during which Vanderbilt, an American citizen, beat this game of protection, when liens on railroads have been bought at greatly below their labor value because of being in debt, as pure penalties or sacrifices. Estates secured in large amounts in this way, have been placed under control of one heir, and have since so descended, all the

rest of the family and co-laborers agreeing to this management.

Here is a power, occupying the public domain, that can become a great landlord establishment, enabled to tax or draw bounty revenues from all other forms of wealth, in the price of its carrying charges, by virtue of the business powers it has over an industry servile to interest on perpetual debt.

The remedy, making railroads co-operatively profitable, will be, to remove all restrictions to free trade in American wealth. This alone will make a Vanderbilt a co-operative laborer, voluntarily using his capital in railroads to co-operate with other American labor, to encourage the largest possible production of wealth, from which railroads will get their share—more profits by encouraging manufacturing population along their lines to manufacture exports from American raw materials.

The system of industry adopted by the Standard Oil Company results in labor-saving economy—in the less cost of the wealth of oil—in less of senseless American toil. Any oppressions arising from its existence, can only be traced to Federal restrictions, which alone prevent the Standard Oil Company from being a co-operative laborer. Taxed capital, organized into combines for self-protection, is not permitted to get its natural amount of profits without squeezing or scalping other American wealth out of its profits. If the Standard Oil Company could have unlimited free trade for its product, in its efforts to acquire foreign wealth, by simply less cost of production, then the price of oil would be so low, yet profitable, that American foreign free trade would be assured. This would afford American indus-

try the oil it consumes at the lowered price, thereby improving the value of its wealth, and the Standard Oil Company make better profits thereby.

The Standard Oil Company would then make direct exchanges for tea, coffee, fruit, hides, rubber, &c., in American ships, not through the medium of European oil tanks, enabling it to sell these imported teas, coffees, &c., cheaper to American consumers, and by being protected in being co-operative, still get more wealth in exchange for its oil.

The same cost of oil would buy more tea, coffee, ornamental wood, lumber, &c. This would enable all American manufacturers or producers of potatoes, hops, cheese, wool, cotton, meat, silver, gold, iron, cloth, shoes, carpets, machinery, railroads, &c., to sell them cheaper, and still have better profits, perhaps exporting all kinds of them, including railroads, to other countries to acquire wealth desirable for elevation of American labor.

The law of free trade protecting, enables them to be better able to have a foreign as well as a domestic market—better profits—more accumulations of capital distributed to industry, whose principal pastime is spending them at home ; less to monopoly income, whose principal pastime is spending them abroad.

The present political status, controlling the Standard Oil Company's attempts to earn profits for itself—just as much as any man of industry should earn for the same labor and co-operative use of his capital—is the present tariff restrictions as the principal cause. It forces into one channel for making profits, and that is

not a labor, but a speculative one. It must scalp those who produce the oil-wells and holes.

These have only a limited market, contending against competing surplus crude oil at home. Some of this oil is in debt and must be sold on a market in which natural demand is destroyed, too low, and thereby operates to cause all crude oil to have the same low price—the condition of the wool, hop, cheese, wheat, silver, copper and all other American markets.

There is a popular fallacy, that the Standard Oil Company is not a benefaction, but rather a public injury. All organizations of American capital for more economical production of wealth, are public benefits. They operate to make more profits for American labor. They enable the producer not to be a mere toiler, in order to produce a modicum of good wages ; that is, if the wages of American production are free, by not having charges of penalties on them with no return or equal exchange. Under present free trade restrictions the reverse is the case. The Standard Oil Company is not the cause. Federal statutes, in violation of their protection, is the cause. Their abatement, not the Standard Oil Company's extinction, is the remedy. Under constitutional protection, the Standard Oil Company would be a bright particular star in the halo of American enterprise and glory.

The State of New York, as a corporate industrial organization with political powers, made an assessment on the wealth of the people within her jurisdiction and converted it into improvements upon her easements or natural resources, called the Erie Canal. This investment has always suffered from restricted trade, enjoined by

Federal relations—forcing it to carry raw materials through the State for foreign labor to manufacture. This labor-saving device of co-operative capital of New York, yielded profits only until supply overtook demand—as pure bounties.

Now it is maintained at public expense to overcome the capital-combine conditions of railroads, which alone are caused, because the policy of imperial control exercised by the Federal relation forces them to become such.

The non-performance of the contract of protection by the Federal relation, has prevented the building up of manufactures in this State for foreign commerce, and in the West as fast as the people needed and would have had, they never getting enough of them.

This would have made commerce of the Erie Canal more profitable than was through transportation of the Western raw materials en route to Europe, where labor remained to manufacture for foreign trade—manufacturers along the line consuming them, manufacturing labor of Europe migrating here.

With reverse conditions from what has been, New York would have reaped untold more wealth, and the valuation of all her property would be worth much more than exists at present, and there would be no perpetual debt of usury to those in Europe, owning liens on this wealth, requiring the toil of New York labor to produce the interest for these penalties. The State would not be obliged to be taxed for repairs of this State plant for manufacturing the State wealth of carrying charges by co-operation of her labor.

New York labor, by the co-operation of its capital of

the Erie Canal, was able to bring all varieties of raw materials to the populations in the cities along its line to make wealth therefrom, but has been restricted by the Federal powers. It has developed so much wealth by this State combine of capital, however, which has been such good patrons of the carrying charges of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, that the State could limit the prices of them, yet make the capital of her railroad improvements the most valuable income properties of this kind in the world. What both these public carriers lack, is free trade in cost of maintenance from bounty charges for the sale of their carrying charges and not be obliged to overcharge on account of their cost, to have them the medium of the exchange of the world's traffic, and New York city be the American emporium of commerce, including Canada, if not the emporium of the world.

Organizations of capital for the more economical production of wealth are the glory of American institutions. The Federal constitution is but the co-operative contract for combination of all the labor and capital of the many State's industries, under one organization for the more economical production of wealth, enabling American labor to get more wealth with less labor, and to protect individual wealth abroad as well as at home, in the right of free trade to increase American industry's profits thereby—and to save endless toil—securing shorter hours to labor—making America a refuge of rest, liberty and freedom from all monopoly oppression, getting the best wages in the world, hence be the wealthiest citizenship.

It is for the interests of the great landlord estates of •

New York such as those held by the Astors, to have free trade in American capital of improvements from all bounties that make them cost more without value received. This would enable them to offer rents so cheap, that the commerce of the world would be done in New York, instead of the free cities of Europe, because of cheaper landlord rent charges, making thereby a less cost to those who occupy them, with more profit.

The only combinations, existing within the territory of the United States with entailed successions, fastened upon the liberties of American citizenship, and the rights of American wealth to free trade, are the political party in power, and the imperial, political monopolies it has established. These are the prime cause of all the woes with which American labor afflicts itself. They are the great combination of monopolies permitted to make war on, and destroy American wealth and liberties.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION,
AS CONFORMING TO THE MOSAIC LAW OF THE TEN COM-
MANDMENTS OR CONSTITUTION; AND THE CIVIL
CODE OF THE ISRAELITES UNDER IT.

Our forefathers endeavored to cut loose from all monopoly traditions of the past and existing civil governments, and from adopting any historical political precedents or models, that had incorporated into them the exercise of imperial power for oppression, rather than protection, of labor. They saw that these always exercise control over wealth which no human power has natural right to exercise—resulted in a national poverty of the very necessities that society must produce for its well being.

Our forefathers were supremely submissive to, and sought protection of Creative power, the violation of whose law by any civil government, they fully believed would be the destruction of that government, and the degradation of the labor, that suffered its violation, from right. They believed the government they were about to construct would share the same fate, if powers were given it to permit human oppression, and it refused to hear the wail of suffering that rose from degraded, toiling labor. Our forefathers made it the supreme duty of the citizen that he should use his vote to protect from injury of property by which the humblest citizen might be wronged without redress.

Than our forefathers, no body of men were ever known

to have possessed so profound a sense, knowledge and experience of the fundamental principles that should protect the citizen, through force of the civil law, against charges for bounties to landlord monopolies as an income class, these bounties being only punishments, fines or penalties on human rights and needs of existence. They had learned how their existence affects the degradation, misery and the destiny of nations. How many are forced to be bad, who with protection of their God-given rights would be good citizens.

They were American patriots in the fulness of their being. They were, by their feeling as such, filled with the conviction that the civil law should enforce only protection of and subserve human rights, to thereby lighten toil of American labor, by protecting inherent rights pertaining to it in the wealth it produced, believing that profits belonged to those only who produced them by free trade in the fruits of their own labor.

They believed communities had the right and duty of revolution as the last resort, if they possessed enough public virtue, and were capable of a harmony requisite, for maintaining a government only suited to human needs to provide the means of life ; thereby to establish the power and enforce the civil law duty of protection to the production of wealth put under its keeping, from any charges on it as penalties, bounties or royalties.

They believed that labor should not be compelled to accept of less value than it produced and should not be forced to trade in a market where it could not get value, by restrictions on its free trade in its own natural market, co-operating to elevate its own kinship ; and thereby make the spirit of American liberty no anti-Christ,

but the great missionary spirit of the world—a mission of the brotherhood of man—“of peace on earth, good will towards men.”

They believed the Mosaic law, as embodied in the Israelitish constitution of the Ten Commandments, to be the most perfect guide human reason was capable of following; that obedience to its rule, would bring the nation to a nearer knowledge of and presence with Creative power, and that the experience attained by obeying its precepts, strengthened, elevated and enlightened the human understanding in the knowledge of truth, reason and justice. It also permitted the exploration of the human mind, to unknown depths of Creative wisdom. It developed gratitude and submission for its beneficence—for its protection through the bountiful provisions of sources of wealth, elevating man in his physical, intellectual, moral and religious education by their free appropriation for labor—not by restrictions on their free use.

They believed the light of this Presence, illuminating the understanding of mankind, would in due time destroy the rule of anarchy and chaos, and make it subservient to the preservation of law and order not founded on power of brute force, but co-operation, justice and equal human rights. They believed this power was ordained to supplant the anarchy of its violation, in the form of human oppression.

No less motives actuated those great men—our forefathers—of whom we have not retained the just reverence due them, as evidenced by our permitting American political liberties to die out, and the present, pagan, anarchial oppressions, restrictions and monopolies to be

laid on the human right and duty to labor, and established into imperial power, without consent of labor, in their control of American natural monopolies—relegating from industrial harmony of co-operation and equality, to strife and disintegration by the oppressions of monopolies enshrouded in heathen darkness and ignorance of chaos, from the Christian law-and-order spirit of the Federal relation.

No doubt our forefathers drew instruction and the inspiration of faith, hope and charity from Israelitish ordinances ; such as that, in consideration of family tenure, the land should be taxed on that family, not on poor people needing raw materials from that land to preserve life. It was not to become a landlord monopoly so that Jewish society should be compelled to pay bounties or penalties for support of that family because it possessed the land without doing any labor, simply for using what that land contained that the possessory family had no use for, except to drive off all who needed its use, unless landlord royalties were paid. Israelitish society made an assessment, in the nature of a division in which all had a natural claim, to be taken out of its products in kind, as the rent, the family occupying, owed to society—the reverse of the policy in power at Washington—for those who were debarred the free use of this natural provision for life. It made no difference whether the land contained large or small improvements. If a family was industrious and accumulated wealth, which enabled it to furnish products cheaper to Jewish society, that was no reason for putting penalties on that wealth. Such a violation of American institutions is effected by the policy of the party in power. It was considered

very desirable, under the Mosaic dispensation, for the family to have plenty of wells that the cattle did not perish but increase, also store of grain and well cultivated vineyards. This family did not have to pay rents to a landlord, and thereby be forced to overcharge its co-laborers—Jewish people—to thereby make them pay the cost of supporting an income class.

Under the policy of the party in power, establishing imperial rule at Washington over the several States or nations of the American federation, the farmer of a freehold held under the sovereignty of the State or nation of New York, is compelled to pay tribute to a landlord of another nation or State. For example, a royalty or bounty to a coal or iron baron of the State or nation of the federation called Pennsylvania. So does the owner of a house. So does a New York manufacturer on his building and machinery. These coal and iron barons can dictate to a New York manufacturer just how many goods he shall manufacture, and what he shall pay his operatives that live in this house, for their benefit and sole net profit, he getting bare living; and what the farmer shall get for his produce. These coal and iron and other landlord monopoly barons are therefore getting all the net capital, while the manufacturer and operative together, are gradually being ground to powder as servile labor, their dust but enriching the soil of New York, whose labor enriches these baronial estates of Pennsylvania, American labor being among the oppressed of the earth to-day. Such is the logic of facts. Such the policy of the party in power. How then can a laborer of New York equip his son with good improvements on land in the West, to enable him to help build up more

States or nations to be stars in the American constellation, to be free patrons of the products of New York ?

The Israelitish law asked, how much did the land produce ? There was no income class, living by bounties collected out of a toiling class, that was thereby able to live without working their own land, and would not let any one else work it unless as monopolies. Those that did nothing had nothing, so there was no danger of famine from monopoly, although there were famines because the Israelites violated their own law, and neglected to store wealth against famines. The Israelitish law did not take note of how large a house was on the land or how much stock, but it rated only the income from the wealth of the family, by taking a part of the profits from the co-operative use of its capital with its labor.

The taxes were to be in kind, not legal tender, and then give a monopoly power to keep the legal tender as bank reserves, and force a monopoly of credit to be currency, yet not good for taxes and contracts, and the legal tender to cost a premium before it could be used, as is done by the policy of the party in power, violating American institutions it holds in trust to execute. No restrictions in trade were made by Israelitish law, with its consequent poverty and a perpetual debt of penalties called interest, to support an imperial income-aristocracy.

Theocracy, or Creative power, was the constitutional interpreter of the purposes of the Israelitish government—not demon monopoly. It recognized no higher law than itself, hence protected, or submitted to no monopolies—no restrictions on helpless man who relied on that

protection, that would depreciate the value of wealth in the hands of those who produced them, for the profit of those who were not producers, and had no public duties. The Hebrew laws thereby protected mutual equal right—not a landlord oligarchy supported by labor.

It was enjoined, that after the times when kings would rule, supplanting the judges, that they were to be just in the civil service—not to need any civil service reform. The kings were not to appropriate too many horses, &c., for the public service—more than was needed for the common good, and thereby oppress the people, but to so protect them that they suffer no loss in their free-trade value—to thus preserve the Israelites, so long as they obeyed the law of their protection and refuge.

The distribution of wealth was adapted to human rights and needs. Those who did not plow, had nothing at harvest time, hence must toil in servitude for support.

Bankrupt laws were to always be in force, to thereby conform to the good, that Theocracy—the Judge or Ruler over all—required—the law of protection, not destruction. Their execution was not to be fraught with overcharges—requiring an exchange of more wealth for bankrupt service of scribe fees, &c., than it cost to produce, and to that extent be a government monopoly, causing the oppression of over and unequal taxation, and special need of civil service reform, as American bankrupt laws have been made to oppress the people.

Bankruptcy laws were enjoined as one of the greatest of Israelitish religious obligations. They were made to restore natural rights of free industry which were wrested by the civil law of society, or by misfortune. The

manner of executing these laws was, a discharge of all debts in the year of jubilee, and to alleviate any insolvent condition, a duty was laid on the right of land tenure by the unit of society—the family—every seventh year. It was to be for the use of the poor—the insolvents and all who did not hold a possession of productive natural resources, under the civil law of tenure, and were debarred means of the production of their own wealth. These laws taught that the world owed every man a living who was willing to work and society must make provision. All were thus protected by Israelitish code of insolvent laws. Every one had a duty to perform, that is, obey the law in all things.

It was further enjoined, that no Israelite should oppress the debtor's ability to acquire profits or capital, beyond his means, to pay a debt. Its non-payment was not to cause personal oppression and degradation, by forcing payment before the year of jubilee would discharge it in bankruptcy. There was to be no imprisonment of the unfortunate debtor without fraud.

There was no permission to traffic in slaves or bondsmen of their own people, although a contract of slavery or bondship might be transferred. A man once a slave or bondservant, under the law for debt, could after redemption hold land. His citizenship was unimpaired. He lost no prior right of equality by inheritance, only its privileges were in abeyance pending his slavery, service or bondship. His rights to use natural resources were retained to be used when he became free again. He was in every sense an equal, as a human being and a citizen. During the time he was debarred the right to free use of natural resources, his creditor and master

was bound to provide for all of his necessities, and not permit him to want, any more than the creditor or master himself. He wore no mark of degradation, but in case of piercing of the ears, this was testimony, to be made the lawful evidence of the desire on the part of the slave or bondservant to remain so.

Humanity for this unfortunate fellow man, if he was faithful to his agreement in performing his penalties in lieu of his contract of debt, was included in the duty to love his neighbor as himself. This was a great deal to perform, as the Israelites were surrounded by nations whose law was might, in some form of monopolies, rather than right, such laws being in accord with their religious teachings. They were taught to believe in and practice religious rights that only degrade the human intellect and debase the human understanding, making mankind to be incapable of self-government, and therefore to be servile. The Mosaic law was wholly in accord with the law of Creative power, and hence tended to elevate the human understanding.

All other nations took their ethics from the ignorance and darkness of the human understanding, growing out of debasement. They violated natural law as a religious duty, made higher than the right of society, which rendered them incapable of retaining rectitude in the matter of slavery, or of civil government in any form.

Their laws therefore suffered irresponsible, imperial oppressions. For example, restrictions on the free trade or exchange of wealth. Some mediums for enforcing their oppressions were a circulation of fiat, token money—the failure to protect the rights of land tenure, to secure them from inflicting injustice on society by oppress-

ing it—the oppression of the family relation, the preventing of the performance of the duties of parents and children, and the appropriation by force, of human beings for the purpose of trafficking in them as mere capital or property—for the purpose of making them produce more wealth than they were allowed to retain as their natural right.

The Israelitish law was so much beyond the conceptions of human justice of which man is capable, even at the present day and stage of enlightenment, from mere intuition smouldering in his clouded understanding, without the aid of tradition and the fuller light of natural law under Christian development, that this alone can explain the fact of the ignorant violation of the Federal constitution by an electoral majority representing the nation; although it was founded on the principles of the laws first acquired in definite form—the Ten Commandments—by the Israelites. The failure of popular suffrage of labor itself to perfect civil law, so that it will protect all human rights equally for labor's benefit as a religious duty, has been used to prove that labor is incompetent to govern itself. It is certain, no aristocracy getting its income from toil, with the agreement it as an educated class, would protect labor in its natural rights, has ever done other but wrong that labor, and made it toil. Labor is learning from experience, the wrongs of its own bad government. American labor is learning fast, that making monopolies is not protection.

There is nothing from analogy, to infer that mankind in his deprived condition was ever capable of conceiving of the Mosaic law—the Ten Commandments—of apprehending that this is the only law of liberty—that it does

not require, but forbids that a part of the human race should toil in endless hours of suffering and fatigue to provide for those whom the law of nature teaches that they shall not require this.

Athenian democracy, not being the educated classes, condemned Socrates to death, because he taught the law of Creative power, in opposition to the gods of ignorant imagination and false mythology, as his teaching worked against human oppression and wars. Truth rather teaches that while it is day—while mankind is able to lay up store—he shall provide it, and have freedom from all political oppression in doing it. Thou shalt not serve thy neighbor, only Creative power; but have, and do unto thy neighbor as an equal—no more. This is the great duty to protect by power of civil law.

The Israelitish law did not sanction the bringing of human beings into life without the family relation at all, and in the family relation without a bill or provision of rights to exclusive tenure of natural resources, for their inheritance, including provision for the Levites. As soon as the wanderings of the Israelites were over, and they became too numerous to hold land in common, it was apportioned under the unit of the family relation by command of Moses.

Even the childless widow did not forfeit her right to this provision. Provision was made for her to raise up a line of inheritance, it being the duty of the nearest relative of her husband, to be an husband to her, and provide for her children to inherit the portion and name of her former husband.

The history of the life of Ruth shows this, and what the merciful provision is for her, who must otherwise

become an outcast, the subject of oppression, and the prey of vice, compelled to submit to the vice of others, and suffer unprotected for it, as the nominally Christian society of to-day says woman must do.

The Israelitish law did not force to go beyond the realm and live there, to get the natural provision of life, because of monopolies of it at home; as the policy of the party in power, in violation of the law of the Federal relation for the preservation of the right of the States or nations now compels American income people to do, to escape the inflictions in enhanced cost of living. This party says, natural provision shall not be imported without a tariff tax on it. This is an infringement on the right, sovereign with the States before the federation and not given up by it. Provision was made for protection of all the rights due the citizen from the State, but none were taken from American labor of the rights he possessed to the profits of his labor by the law of federation.

The only just plea for an exercise of power of assessment for bounties, was the war power to protect the integrity of the whole, by providing a full government equipment. Custom duties now prevail in violation of the constitution, which forbid importation of raw materials from being natural provisions for life. This law makes no provision forbidding monopoly of the use of domestic natural necessities, but protects that monopoly. It provides a premium of bounties for those who make a monopoly of the necessities of others, their equals by civil law, and the law of Creative power, and says, human toil shall provide that premium without equivalent.

The Israelitish law, developed and unfolded under the

light, understanding and education of Christian science, certainly teaches that those conservative principles of equality, liberty, freedom and right to one's own property, embodied in the letter and spirit of the constitution of the United States of America, are those which it becomes the duty of every laborer to vote for and defend. They are the great modern bill of right acquired by the American nation's blood of the revolution, perfected by the downfall of the monopoly of involuntary servitude of slavery, by the voluntary consecration of the blood of American labor, shed in the late civil war. A neglect to practice which, obeying the power of avarice or monopoly, will be the sure means of destroying this beneficent God-fearing American constitution, and move backwards the dial of time, when all men, by development or education, shall come to know and do right, without the force of civil law compelling to this great end of man—when American labor shall itself, in all its branches, be the educated classes, to guide and protect itself.

CANADA.

The great imperial purpose of the federation of the United States of America was, to secure the wealth of American labor—thus naturalized into a political, co-operative, protective union—from depreciation below its natural free trade value, by protecting from penalties attaching to it for the license of its free use or exchange. It was ordained thereby, that the rights of labor to the wealth it produced should be intact, by including the profits of production and use, as its own capital against any private interests or monopolies that might offer to abridge those rights by forcing unequal value exchanges—those not rendering equivalent.

That no internal power favored by the government, nor foreign power, can acquire wealth of American labor, at less than its full value, is the only political condition of American labor, by the unviolated exercise of the power of American institutions thus federalized.

These conditions of federation have been violated, however, through political party assistance of monopolies, giving them political privileges to absorb the wealth American labor produces for its own use without value, by its own remissness of its political duties to stand by the natural institution of labor, to co-operate with all who labor, as ordained by Creative power.

It has, however, by the contract of the federation the right to so vote as to enjoy the full liberties the Federal power provides, so that there shall be no oppressive

condition suffered by any member of American labor condition, unredressed.

These are valuable considerations freely offered to the Provinces of Canada to induce them to merge themselves as States, and become members of this federation or union. Canadian citizenship, being equally capable of self-government, can partake of all the benefits and protection this political establishment affords, and be an active defender of human rights. The federation is capable of securing the profits of labor to Canadian industry itself, which its own government now appropriates to monopolies with an even more imperial power than the government of the American federation asserts over the right that belongs under State prerogative to all American labor ; by means of its vicious policy of tariff restrictions, that only thereby incidentally protect landlord monopolies.

Within the federation, Canadian labor can have more natural free trade, extending its limits not only abroad but over the territory of all the States so federated, and with its own resources make a greater variety of sources of wealth, redound to its own accumulations.

It is true, however, that the standard of principles enunciated by the Declaration of Independence, defined by the Constitution of the United States of America and Washington's farewell address, are ahead of the development of the average human understanding—the education of the age and of the people of the several States. The lack of political experience and education, deprives labor of the full benefits of self-government, this Christian federation of peace and harmony provided for enjoying. States have had the incubus of slavery fastened

on them by the cruel monopoly policy of British foreign commerce, to contend with, claiming bounties to be paid by free labor to it. This power of slavery has impeded a consensus of understanding as to the best policy of protection. The local interest of slavery has only developed other sectional, counter interests, never a union of interests of American labor. Therefore the lack of protection to which it is heir by political heritage, has been the result of aims to get local advantages or monopolies, not comprehending the duties of co-operative industry sufficiently—a large part of the federation being represented by the monopoly of slavery.

This has resulted in destroying the political protection of the co-operative rights of American labor, until they are wholly subject to monopoly power. American labor therefore toils in poverty, because it has been outwitted in preserving the rights of political protection it is heir to. It has been subject to the wiles of the party policy in power, that does not object to some of America's best skilled labor having carpets on floors of rented houses, if their manufacture results in only poor wages to American industry, and all the profits of labor or manufacture go to landlord and commercial monopolies, American labor being presumed to forget all about it, during Presidential campaign sprees, paid for by these monopolies, who occasionally tickle its servile senses by a donation of some of their blood and sweat money for benefactions to relieve human suffering caused by these oppressions—that suffering being placed beyond the aid of American labor, because it is so poor and oppressed, it must see a portion of those who have nothing, suffer and perish in this land of plenty. This blood and sweat

money taken from suffering American labor is in a very small percentage used for technical schools of manual training, to teach American labor how to produce more wealth, but not to possess it. A much larger portion is spent in Europe, enjoying class-rule pastimes.

American labor, forgetting its duties of eternal vigilance to preserve these political rights, that Washington, Jefferson and others secured for it, has permitted a party in power to provide a venal vote to take away its liberties. Getting freeholds, which it has been denied political right to hold in Europe, when its government from Washington has emancipated it from the debts of all penalties to support a ruling class, American labor, having freeholds, has gone and taken its fellow laborer by the throat that possessed no freehold and demanded "pay me what thou owest," claiming the right to exact those monopoly rents it was obliged to pay in Europe, and emigrated to escape from, and has voted tariff restrictions of a kind that would not protect labor, but itself as a landlord in exacting a debt of oppression out of its fellow laborer, the same as it suffered in Europe. This American labor has voted with the venal vote, to oppress all other labor, forgetting that—in installing monopoly into imperial power—the most powerful one will be dictator and rule all the rest, and a small freehold can never get anything but taxation as its lot in this arbitrary distribution of property, it contributing its share that it voted to be raised out of the profits of American labor, instead of getting a share by perpetrating this political wrong.

It has voted to conform the government to accord with traditionary practices of such a kind as prevail in Europe, governing land tenure.

Unless the protection agreed on by the terms of the Federal constitution, for the liberty of American labor to have free trade, and independence from all landlord monopoly oppression in the use of its wealth, is recognized as binding and pre-eminent over the consciences of the people, impelling them, as an act of public political virtue, to conform to its letter and spirit ; then the federated constitutional, self-government, of the American people, is a failure and a fraud. Washington feared that the people were not educated up to the proper performance of the duties of self-government. Jefferson believed, in the crisis, they would save free institutions.

The same original right of protection also inheres to citizenship of the Dominion, under the British constitution of the common law.

A status of disorganizing, anarchial, partisan forces—bred of political immorality, by a generation holding a political heritage of liberty, but indifferent to its blessings, and to the protection of those natural rights pertaining to the protection of wealth, secured by a ratified, written, Federal constitution, using the government to subserve only private interests or monopolies as if no constitution existed—would bode no good to a union with Canada, or with any other territory of natural resources, whose citizenship contemplated uniting their civil-law bonds for the protection of their wealth, under one Federal-government relation, with the pre-existent United States of America.

To reasonably expect the Provinces of Canada to voluntarily enter into the American federation, as equal sovereign States, it is incumbent on the American nation that enough of political virtue in her citizenship, found-

ed on the Christian ethics of the religious duty of co-operation of all industry, to thereby lighten the burdens of humanity, becomes predominant in the States already federated professedly to protect their great common interests against alien invasions by monopolies, whose oppressions absorb all liberties or rights of free trade. This is necessary, to make the union, with all its imperfect protection, in the aggregate a blessing, a harbinger of peace, harmony and co-operation among the States, and of good will to all the nations of the earth.

There are so many economical, natural-monopoly conditions, to increase permanently the wealth of both these territories of natural resources with less toil to each, by political union of the laws for protection of the rights naturally belonging to production of their several improvements on natural sources of wealth, that local habits, traditions and the feelings growing out of ignorant prejudices of the people on both sides, should be borne down in their opposition to it, by the supreme rectitude, knowledge and wisdom of the developed or educated classes, those elevated to be above every consideration of civil service patronage or spoils, and of all interests foreign to the realm—private interests or monopolies—with the faith that the greatest political virtue is in the absolute equality of right among all forms of labor; that a knowledge of the way to ward off assaults on this right, is to know what consists in the Christian promotion of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—a knowledge born only of faith, hope and charity, not of human oppression, nor nurtured under its rule.

To develop a preponderance of feeling in favor of a political union, it is hardly to be expected that a recip-

reciprocity treaty would do otherwise than block such a consummation, by building up and patronizing interests that, after once established as monopolies under such a regime, would be a political power to work against any further union than a special reciprocity of exchange of limited classes of American for Canadian products, restricting their most profitable co-operative, mutual exchanges—their mutual free-trade exchanges.

Of course, to plead with paternal-government monopolies made into form of aristocracies of wealth, on either side of the line, to unite for the purpose of partaking of such blessings, would be the pleadings of the lamb with the wolf to drink at the same stream on an equality of right, even if it were of the waters ruled by neither. Monopolies claim the right, by brute force, to appropriate all the natural resources belonging to the lamb—industry—and then to appropriate its very self.

Reciprocity is but an invasion of the constitutional conditions and rights of American wealth, in their Federal relations, that restricts their free trade and the individual independence of citizens of the States to be affected. It is also an invasion of the natural rights of Canadian labor.

The only lawful means, consistent with the political rights of American labor, for securing the consummation of a political union of the protection of the labor of both countries will be, for the present American government to adopt the principles of Federal tariff restrictions before discussed in this work, to thereby fully prove its own capabilities of protecting the rights of labor. It must protect the free trade import of raw materials. American labor will then import those it can acquire by

less labor than to produce them from its own sources of wealth, but not more. This will improve the value of all forms of wealth American labor produces, preventing any glut of labor, or of products without a home or foreign market.

This political policy will afford protection to the capital invested in improvements of cities, from penalties for the raw materials they must have as necessities for employment, which would rightfully improve the natural-monopoly, co-operative value of improvements in the landlord interests of the cities themselves, by their patronage of them, also of the capital invested in farms, mines, railroads, harbors, &c.

Such a feasible means of American industrial prosperity, would tempt the members of the Canadian family, to trust the political protection of their wealth under one management, that could prove itself so successful in business administration of the great co-operative combine of American wealth for the protection of its profits, as capital in the hands of the labor producing them, against the oppression of monopolies of all the world.

The American States claim blood relationship with the Canadian family. Their people think the time is fast approaching, when the Canadian branch will have attained its majority in natural right, and have leave to ask, of the common parent, the possessions it is heir to by the laws of nature and nations; that the division be made with the parents' blessing, and approval of the union of interests, with the possessions of their older sisters, making all their interests thereby mutual and co-operative.

The common parent does not wish contentions among

the members of her own family. Rather she wishes to have the blood relationship cemented by common, co-operative interests—by political bonds—if this is for the best for the parties effected—if peace can thus be better preserved, with greater prosperity.

The opposition, on both sides, will be from cloven-footed monopoly alone—in the form of the aristocracy of landlordism and other income monopolies, those breeding oppressions, pagan chaos and anarchial dissensions, with sullen submission of a self-consciously degraded industry.

Owing to a policy of over and unequal taxation, prevailing in Canada of the same kind as prevails in the States, there is no possibility of Canadian labor ever paying—on the unpaid debt of her foreign exchanges—anything except raw materials handed over to her creditor's foreign commerce. It can, with its manufactures, never. Its doom of darkness to the outside light of its own foreign commerce, is ordained by the chains of everlasting debt, taking all its profits to support its income classes.

Canada is even in a more benighted condition than that of her neighboring federated States.

There can be no good in a federation of two such systems, preserved only for the purpose of degrading, from the estate of free production of American wealth, to a condition of subjection to perpetual debt evolved out of servile labor, by a servile condition established to support an income aristocracy. It would only establish the imperialism of irresponsible power of monopolies, as a more galling yoke, until revolution rose up, and marched an army to Washington—as Rome was invested by the

armies of the provinces, because they were plundered by imperial power emanating from Rome—and destroyed the federation itself, in destroying its evils.

Unless possibly, smarting under industrial impoverishment by oppression, the States unite in political harmony to abate monopoly, the dormant political virtue of the people being patriotically reasserted.

Canada nominally does a little foreign trade by means of subsidies making no profit out of it, only taxing her own labor out of its profits for these subsidies that some private interest may profit.

All taxation, no protection of wealth from depreciation, is the present landlord and other monopoly protection policy of Canada, as well as the American States.

The imported Canadian raw materials, acquired by the American federation of industry, must be protected in all their opportunities for their free trade, so that American industrial citizenship can merge them among its manufactures and improvements. These products must not be restricted in their free trade, to thereby prevent their affording all the wealth they will bring to American industry, for the common good that will be felt from general individual prosperity, particularly so because Canada must sell them at no profit.

Why should not American railroads and ships have ties and other lumber, also ore and other minerals from Canada, rather than submit to home-monopoly extortions, that only handicap them, in the transcontinental contest for sale of carrying charges, helping Canada on the one side, and the Isthmian and Mexican routes on the other, throwing wealth beyond the reach of Ameri-

can labor to acquire it—to become the wealth of foreign nations?

Supposing Canada refuses to permit any American products to be imported except bullion and coin in payment for her only marketable exports, those of fur, lumber, ore, fish, &c., to pay for her imports of tea, coffee saltpeter, &c.

American production of foreign exchange, consisting only of money of nations which may be imported into Canada free, will naturally again seek the place where it is most valuable. It will not remain in Canada, because her raw materials cannot pay her debts abroad, this money being the only available substitute for deficiencies. It will then inevitably get back to the hands of American labor, through its foreign commerce; unless by a policy of tariff restrictions to be forever continued, American labor's wealth is pledged to foreign debt; when this bullion would remain abroad, American labor having no use for it—substituting credit for currency—only to pay interest on its foreign debt for an income of an European aristocracy of wealth.

If the political federation of the labor of the United States of America used legal tender as money because being protected in being out of debt, doing a free-trade exchange only, and thereby made it the measure of all other wages' value, then that exported would not rest, but get back to its starting place, because it would have more purchasing power than in any other country, more taxed-for-class rule, because it would be taxed less for class rule than any labor is in this era of the world's history.

Canadians are free to judge for themselves, as to

whether they will be satisfied to have such a political dispensation of their wealth, as exists under the party policy American labor so foolishly permits, and whether it is much of an improvement of their own, totally bad as that is, from the fact that there is no provision made for Canadian enterprise to have unbonded wealth, since all her wealth is already bonded for gain in Europe.

In case of tariff reform, however, by which means American industry is to be protected in getting natural, full, good wages, including profits, in exchange for its exports, by the relief of detaxation of raw materials, then it becomes able to redeem this money exported to Canada.

Since, however, Canada, with her policy of tariff restrictions on the productions of her own people for revenue only, under the blind of a protective tariff, like the American, plausibly to give labor employment, will not buy any American productions, except money—with perhaps a little of such necessities as coal—her labor being from her taxed condition too poor to buy any other—those drawing income from the use of her capital, spending it abroad—which money, however, American industry is willing to sell her for her furs, ores of iron, copper, silver, lead, &c., lumber and fish, because it can make more valuable wealth out of these crude Canadian products, than it can out of its money, coal, &c., at their exchangeable value, Canada having destroyed her home market for them, that makes them so cheap, and, under American protection of her own wealth, from all over and unequal taxation, so valuable to her labor; foreign exchanges would be in favor of American industry, and New York be the centre of the distribution of the accu-

culated wealth of foreign nations, rather than London and other free ports of Europe, at least for the American federation and Canada.

Canada has made a bad mess of it, not being able herself to buy tea, coffee, &c., &c., she having only money and her crude products for exports, but being too poor to hold them, but must pay it out in Europe as interest on her foreign debt, after making only the poorest kind of wages, for her labor in earning it, her wages being not only not protected, but taxed out of profits.

This free trade condition of the States, however, would enable their federation of industry to buy back the money it sold to Canada, from those Canada paid it out to, as usury, getting nothing back. The next deal from the profits of this trade to Canada, would be to supply her tea, coffee, sugar, &c., in place of money, bought with exported American manufactures; because by greater ratio of over and unequal taxation, than that on American industry, Canada could not compete abroad with the American States, to buy these—her imports—but must pay for them in the same way that the political party in electoral majority now compels the American federation of industry to do, that is, in some form of raw materials, or their money product, so far as these will apply on foreign debt of exchange; ever funding the perpetual balance of debt, by giving liens on railroads, canals, &c., bearing interest.

Perhaps Canada concludes she will place her duties on tea, coffee, sugar, &c., so high they cannot cross the lines. That makes no difference. The American federation of industry has the free trade in foreign commerce, without competition so far as Canada is concerned, under

her supposed tariff reform, and made all the profit, and can afford to dump this tea, coffee, &c., on Canadian bottoms from their places of original export, where American manufactures bought them, and decline to permit any comity to Canadian bottoms, if she is not considered as good to trade with as the most favored nations.

The law of free trade must be observed within her bounds, for her own wealth, or else American free trade—by retiring the present party in office from power, to darkness outside the shades of American ancestry—only makes her condition more relatively miserable by the contrast and contact, the American States getting all the odds, profits, capital in their favor; the same as Europe now does from all the Americas.

As American trade hangs onto dim life—under the incubus, of over and unequal taxation, by monopolies, levied on her production itself, as a penalty for labor, her territory of federation of industry is not the-even a-centre of the exchange, for a clearing house of any foreign exchange. At present London, Amsterdam and other European marts compete for the profits or capital derived from their free trade, to buy at low prices—the law of trade imposed on American labor—the American raw materials put on forced sale by the policy of the party in power.

The American federation of industry, with ample natural-monopoly facilities to do it, must commission a foreign commerce across the ocean to get this business done for herself, and look on and read in the papers that it is done for Canada also.

Canadian industry, being also a debtor abroad, there-

fore cannot hold the money she has been so bluffingly, apparently self-reliant and independent as to exact from her shrewd Yankee federation neighbor who has wisely concluded to be very courteous to her northern neighbor, and let her—in her childhood of politico-industrial infancy of knowledge of her natural greatness—have trinkets she may desire, money if she pleases. Canada must then put it into the world's markets for sale to pay interest on her perpetual debts, leaving her greatest problem to be how not to be oppressed with any addition to the volume of her perpetual debt of interest even; then to pay interest without taking water at the mouth, exhausting all her profits or capital in doing it, and therefore being so poor that all her local industries are done on borrowed credit, paying an enormous interest to her banks for that credit—more even than American labor does.

Here is a chance for American industry to buy back this money, at such a profit, that it of itself would be enough to buy all the raw materials and fish the Canadians are obliged to sell abroad. American foreign free trade is not affected by the Canadian tariff at all, or that of any other nation. If it suffers at all, it is because of its own trade restrictions.

These relations, of tariff reform trade of the federation of American States, makes American labor that much richer, it protecting its free trade in its own wealth, through taking Canadian raw materials, and paying for them in legal tender even as a commodity. American labor would not use money for exchange if it had it. It would use only private bills of exchange for currency, not needing money, because out of debt, only to prevent

the use of depreciated currency, by making legal money the standard of value.

Canada thereby has had her way, in making imperial exactions on her own wealth, by refusing to permit anything but money pay for exports to the States, rather than have free trade exchanges by abolishing all political lines ; because in attempting to settle the balance for foreign exchanges, she has received such poor profits that her foreign debt is only larger.

To prevent American laborers or manufacturers getting any profit, of even equal, mutual exchange, Canada has given all profits produced by her own industries, to monopolies. She should have done neither that, nor given to American commerce, but have given them to the producers of these profits—to her own industry.

This is the just political condition—that of complete independence of Canadian enterprise from all the world's intrigues to defeat its efforts to secure the profits of its labor to itself, with the further advantage then of a Federal union of all the several political organizations to extend those advantages, such as each present State should gain by the present union of public interests—that would be the natural bond to draw her interests into the American federation, after it had also gotten rid of its own vitiating monopolies.

Some will query, how is it that American money is now made by law a commodity and is then sold abroad at less than its natural value, as all other American wealth is. As before stated it is caused by robbing labor of its profits, and by a foreign commerce being protected by the present party policy in its doing all of American exchanges abroad, causing the prices of all

imports to be higher than if made by an American free-trade-from-all-bounty-charges commerce of direct, mutual exchange. These enhanced prices are equivalent to a depreciation of the value of American money forced to be a commodity to pay debts—suffered because of foreign instead of American commerce handling it.

Not a very flattering inducement for Canadians to federate their wealth, subject to a political contract declaratory by the Federal constitution to be for co-operative advantages of labor with its own capital as its imperial purpose; when those entrusted with office deliberately make a compact permitting private interest to live at expense of the public, out of the fund or capital of co-operative American labor, and permit this labor to be robbed, in its foreign exchanges, of all its profits.

If America was in the foreign market with her free-trade-from-domestic-bounties manufactures, the profits on these would enable her to outbid the world for this American treasure, now knocking about in the junk shops of Europe as a commodity.

As it now stands, the greatest of all political federations of industry for protection of its free trade rights with the world, to thereby secure to itself equality, infringing on the rights of no other industry, no matter how small—is, for all these great advantages for protecting itself against the world, actually in debt at home and abroad, simply because it has deliberately violated the law of protection of its co-operation, and used official power to redound to the gain of private interests or monopolies, despoiling its own industry therefor.

Another historical tableau on the program of monopoly dispensation of power, bewildering the darkened

senses of the American people, is the assemblage of the congress of the industrially dependent and politically independent States of all the Americas, omitting Canada only, at Washington. Monopoly power very well knows—if its lackey, the electoral majority holding Federal offices, does not—that the United States of America cannot perform her part of any contract made with the assembled Americas, to be executed beyond her realms by any application of her grand Monroe doctrine, because the spoils of office party has made American industry insolvent; and has delivered it, bonded to Europe already, and Europe has in fact the disposition over the profits of the inter-American-national trade—by having control of the railroads, holding bonds pledged to deliver the profits to Europe.

The wealth of improvements of railroads of all the Americas, is largely pledged by bonds to European income aristocracy, and this debt is possibly increasing—\$300,000,000 yearly. They will be compelled to overcharge for the price of carrying charges against the necessary American interchanges, to draw income; causing thereby American industry to pay European tribute for their natural right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for all their exchanges among themselves, Europe thereby passively controlling the trade of neutral nations. They cannot inter-trade without first paying their profits to support European income aristocracy.

American labor having now a scarcity of free, untrammelled, unbonded wealth, because it has sold the fruits of the revolutionary war, also of the late civil war, for a mess of pottage, cannot therefore turn what is most

profitable for its own interest, at its own option (no debtor can) and will sell at below normal prices, because it has not protected its home market—the only profitable and natural market for its silver, copper, lead, wheat, cotton, &c., untaxing therefor the labor that produces them by releasing from mere bounties on cost of production before they can be converted into more profitable exports of manufactures. Its too-cheap railroad bonds then are sold in a forced market as a matter of course to pay its debts, and to draw income abroad from them, to support income affluence in Europe.

This is what must incidentally result, or there cannot be an income aristocracy established in America—to “thereby give American industry employment” supporting this aristocracy, and “to keep it from vice, intemperance, &c.” Canada is doing the same thing, “only a little more so.”

Here, however, this supposed purchase of these free Canadian raw materials, in exchange for American money, has enabled the American federation of labor to make its manufactures in greater abundance, and cheaper, yet furnishing better wages or more wealth to operatives and other American industry, by providing tea, coffee, hides, sugar, &c., cheaper to them, through this natural free trade system of exchanges.

As a sequence, a few more products of silver, lead, copper, iron, wool, cotton, wheat, &c., are consumed at home, making the cost more to European monopoly for what it buys of raw materials, because there is that much less of servile-labor products on her market, competing against each other and a few less foreign debts to pay, and a few more American free-trade manufac-

tures are made foreign exchanges by American commerce, wrested thus from European control of debt.

Some of these American manufactures are certain to find their way to their natural, mutual exchange markets in the tropics, exchanging themselves voluntarily in a free trade between producers for American accumulation of sugar, tobacco, dye stuffs, lumber, medicines, fruits, tropical manufactures of hats, fans, &c., &c., and to China and Japan to exchange themselves for raw silk, tea, Oriental manufactures, &c., giving their people natural employment enough, to settle the question peaceably of Mongolian industrial invasion for homestead in America to suit monopolies, but helping thereby to give it employment at home as a fair sample of Christianity. American exchanges will buy the foreign exchanges Canada must have to preserve a struggling effort towards a Christian status of social condition.

Under this free-trade feast of peaceful, co-operative American Federal industry, Canada, unreformed in present policy, will stand in the same relation to her Southern neighbor that the present political party in power has placed American industry to Europe—make an everlastingly helpless baby of it. The American Union is now patronizing Europe for the spoon to feed it, reaching out its infant arms, motioning in speechless gesture to European imperialism to sustain its dependent existence, well knowing it will not grow up under the coarse fodder, made for its provision, into a strong, independent power; but will always be a public charge, its estate of freedom, handed down from its forefathers of the revolution, being pawned for such poorhouse alms and provision as European monopoly exchange will afford to so degraded an industry.

By the political protection of free trade in American products, New York rather than London becomes the centre of the exchange-world, so far as Canada is concerned—presuming her traditions will still incline her to a ruling and a toiling class.

America has thus grown rich, (supposedly so) presuming labor to rule rather than be ruled by oppression, by protecting the free trade of her own wealth, against the products of any servile industry supplanting it, by simply making it free from penalties. Canada has grown poorer in the meantime, by taxing the free trade of her own wealth out of existence. Canadian industry is in fact the loser by this exchange, while American industry has added that much more to the wealth of its accumulations.

In fact, both Canadian and American industries should relieve themselves from the incubus of monopolies, and then join hands in co-operative, politico-industrial friendship and free trade. Even with a Canadian export tax, on lumber for an instance, American free industry gets all the profit. The party in power wants monopolies to have all the profits, and American industry to have only a poor living ; hence no use for Canadian raw materials.

With a political union of the political protection of labor, Canada would save all this. The whole and every part of this grand empire of confederation of labor, would be better off, from the general, common co-operative commercial advantages this union would afford.

The necessary preliminary is, the overthrow of the political parties of electoral majorities in both countries.

SUPPLEMENT.

“David Lewis, a tin manufacturer of England, is said to be looking over the ground at Pittsburg with a view to establishing a tin plate making plant there in the event of the McKinley bill becoming law. The free trader exclaims: See! “The first beneficiary of this ‘American bill’ will be an English citizen.” All right. May more like him, with capital and knowledge of tin plate making, come over, open plants, make tin plate, and pay American wages to American workmen. That’s what our people want—employment and good pay for their work. And presently we shall have thousands of men employed in the tin plate industry, and building houses and educating their children with the money which now goes abroad to buy the tin plate needed in the United States.

The London *Iron and Steel Journal* understands the situation. It says the most important item in the new (American) tariff bill is that affecting tin plate. “If this is carried the occupation of three-fourths of those engaged in this country in the tin plate trade will be gone, and our employers and their workingmen, if they continue in the tin plate business, must employ their capital and labor on the other side of the Atlantic.” Mr. Lewis is only taking time by the forelock, with an enterprise which Americans can appreciate. And his action and the London journal’s admission sustain the wisdom of the tin schedule of the tariff bill. Tin manufacture, under adequate protection, will in its degree repeat the

pleasing experience we have had in iron and steel manufactures."

The above extract is taken from the *Utica* (New York) *Daily Herald* of May 23, 1890.

This statement is intended to be a defense of a protective system, the last Federal party platform of which says, that no part of it shall be abandoned. It includes protection of monopolies, syndicates—everything except American enterprise. Tariff restrictions therefore are put on raw materials competing with those produced in this country, making thereby an American landlord monopoly of the sources of the national wealth.

Under a tariff restriction system, protective—not of monopolies at all, but—only of the public interests, of American labor and resident capital from charges for support of the government by a tariff for revenue only, and incidentally for support of an American landlord monopoly, and of interest, on account of inevitable debts of foreign exchange; the advent of tin-manufacturer Mr. Lewis with his skilled labor, bringing crude free ore—or tin if there are no sources for profitably producing tin in America—is to be regarded only as a public blessing. It would cause manufacture of tin to be cheaper than it can be under present dispensation of tariff restrictions; or even with free trade in manufactured tinware under Cobden Club principles of free trade, which latter would require of American labor extra toil to earn the wealth to pay the foreign freight for the subsistence of British labor making this tinware, and on this return-freight ware itself. It would protect British labor from all this taxation—by American labor paying it, because tinware is an American necessity,

adding this much to the price therefore that American consumers must pay.

Under tariff restrictions covering only manufactures—not raw materials necessary to break down American landlord monopolies—made by servile labor, which includes that of Great Britain, as defined by the principles of protection intended by American institutions, and stopping right there with all tariff restrictions on free foreign exchange; crude tin ore—or tin itself if American ore be lacking—would come in, with skilled labor to manufacture it, and produce greater wealth to this labor, increasing the value of all home wealth.

This wealth would then find more profitable investment in remaining than to denationalize itself by returning to Europe, because there would be less charges on the profits from its use, for enhanced cost of living, than in Europe. There would, from this increased population, be a better demand for American real estate or sources of wealth, including use of the capital for producing coal, iron, lumber, farm produce, manufactures, railroads, cities, harbors, ships, &c., for home and foreign trade in American manufactures so cheapened. Tin ware made by this nationalized or naturalized American labor, at the value of free wages, would furnish tin manufactures cheaper than present cost or than Cobden club free trade would furnish them. Thereby there would be a greater demand for manufactured (canned) meats, fruits and vegetables for home consumption and foreign exchanges and for all varieties of this labor to produce these exports. The incidental advantages of cheaper houses—because roofing will be cheaper to enable operatives of cotton, woolen and all other manufactures to gain a

point of lower cost, out of the wages American labor receives towards an export of manufactures—is one part of a great whole co-operative system; saving all producers of raw materials the charges their export entail—being deprived of a natural home market by the present tariff restrictions—making the owners of land that much more profits, which would alone turn the tide, of their labor with losses, to one with profits. Losses have become second nature so much to American enterprise or labor, that a revelation of profits within reach of farmers would cause them for a time to doubt their normal existence, they have been so outraged in their previous social existence, by Federal oppression on the rights to free trade in their products. No more so perhaps than the almost desperate manufacturer and common carrier and employed skilled-labor, whose only refuge has been to form combines and unions to retaliate on American labor as consumers for being so selfish as to permit any class of American labor to suffer wrongs at hands of American landlords through their government protection in being monopolies by means of Federal tariff restrictions, using the Federal combination only for their protection of landlord monopolies, to be their oppression only.

Under tariff for revenue only restrictions—making thereby an imperial power, over American native and naturalized labor, of sources of American wealth necessary to be used in connection with this otherwise beneficially and welcomely naturalized skilled labor of Mr. Lewis and his co-laborers, if tin is to be worked at all within the territory of the United States—its manufactures will necessarily rule higher in price to consumers than they are now. No amount of over production will

ever make this industry anything but an infant, and the cost of tin manufactures to be higher than ever to American consumers for all time to come. It is true that there may be a temporary reaction—from bounty profits, to over-production with loss. After that is over and weaker ones are frozen out, there must be combines for self-protection to hold prices up to tariff protected prices to get enough to pay American landlords, to keep in the business in America at all; the holders of government protected monopolies of raw materials however getting all the profits, the tin manufacturer and his co-laborer getting none.

This condition will force tin manufacture to be always an infant industry needing protection for its own bare life at even as poor net profits as labor gets in Europe, if not poorer. It is only a matter of time when it will need higher tariff protection to live at all in America. Because as it is one more employee running after its employer—American landlord monopoly—it will be forced to take still less profits or wages for its labor, to force all American labor to take less than it does now. The condition will force it to enhance prices from bounty price of raw materials by the greater demand for raw materials. Unless therefore tariff restrictions are put still higher, importations of tin manufactures will increase.

The plea against sufficient protection for manufactures, including tin ware, that the margin of difference in the cost of the pay roll is enough tariff restriction, is not good, so long as the advocate does not recognize the necessity to abate the tariff protection of every raw ma-

terial by which it can become a monopoly to thereby prevent American enterprise making profits.

With American landlord monopolies protected by tariff restrictions, if less duties were put on manufactures, no more—in fact not so many—would be imported, because these monopolies would yield demand for bounties enough to secure a use of their own sources of wealth, rather than have them idle. This, however, would not in the least help the profits of manufactures.

Present free trade restrictions prevailing, manufactures will not yield any profits whatever in the long run. The present tariff restrictions are made to protect private interests of landlord monopoly only, hence they do not in the long run benefit any manufacturer at all, although some can still show bounty accumulations made before supply equalled demand.

The protection by being raised periodically will alone keep him in America, where he is in the condition of eternal infancy, every gradation putting down the value of the wealth of all American labor and enhancing the cost of living to benefit American landlords.

If the object of tariff restrictions was to protect the public interests of labor only, then this tin manufacturer would not need tariff restrictions for his particular protection at all. American labor's demand as consumers, would then protect him. The whole object of tariff restrictions for benefit of American labor is—not to protect private interests, but to shut out all even free exchange or free trade of products of foreign servile labor. because free trade will put down the wealth all American labor can acquire, that of tin manufactures in America included.

The present tariff restrictions, that tax American labor's right to free use of sources of wealth its forefathers bought with their blood, will not only enhance the cost of tin ware to the American consumer for ever after, more than it can be at present, but that of the use of other products of American labor, because of costing more for benefit of private interests to produce them, including cottons, woollens, silver, wheat, railroad carrying charges, &c., which with every new demand from American labor, in new variety of manufacture, will enable holders to ask more for raw materials, the rise being slow, sure and eternal, as population and thereby natural demand increases for these necessities of life. To prevent an increase of imported manufactures therefore tariff restrictions must be increased periodically without limit, but always against the interest of American labor and consumers—for bounties to American landlords only.

All this will mean profits exclusively to monopolies of American sources of wealth, with greater debts abroad. It will cause American labor to toil and earn, in a larger amount, the perpetual debt of interest-money to support these income classes, while its toil will be forever after more, its subsistence less, than its previous conditions have made its heritage.

To complete an imperial policy—denationalizing the rights of the States, establishing a landlord income power, making tin ware and every other conceivable product higher to American consumers the greater the variety produced by American labor, and a lower share or wages as the co-operative profits of labor producing

them, the profits or capital all to go to American and European monopolies—there is being engineered a big contract for sale of silver to the government, its production being controlled for profit of Europe. This contract, if consummated, will immediately cause further production of silver and all other products to cost more to American consumers. It will cause an arbitrary demand for it which must be met by a greater demand, and therefore at higher prices for monopolized raw materials for labor to produce the wealth to pay for it, causing the profits of labor to be less. This wealth will therefore be sold at enhanced prices, amounting to a depreciation of the real value of silver to American enterprise, as gold was depreciated following the advent of California gold by same conditions, even although it was legal tender. Once floated, it will be simply a commodity. No servile labor ever uses anything for currency except credit, no matter how much legal tender it produces. Monopolies own all this product.

The government—buying this silver and retaining its present taxation of its own labor by a tariff for revenue, only, and protecting its own landlordism thereby—will have more effectually established a non-resident ruling, income class, and a toiling, servile class; adding its cost to the national debt, on which American labor must pay interest out of its poor wages of silver with a larger foreign debt, interest on which must be furnished by toil of American labor also. This, with the advent of tin and other varieties of manufacture, will hasten the time when a copper, as well as silver syndicate, will be successful.

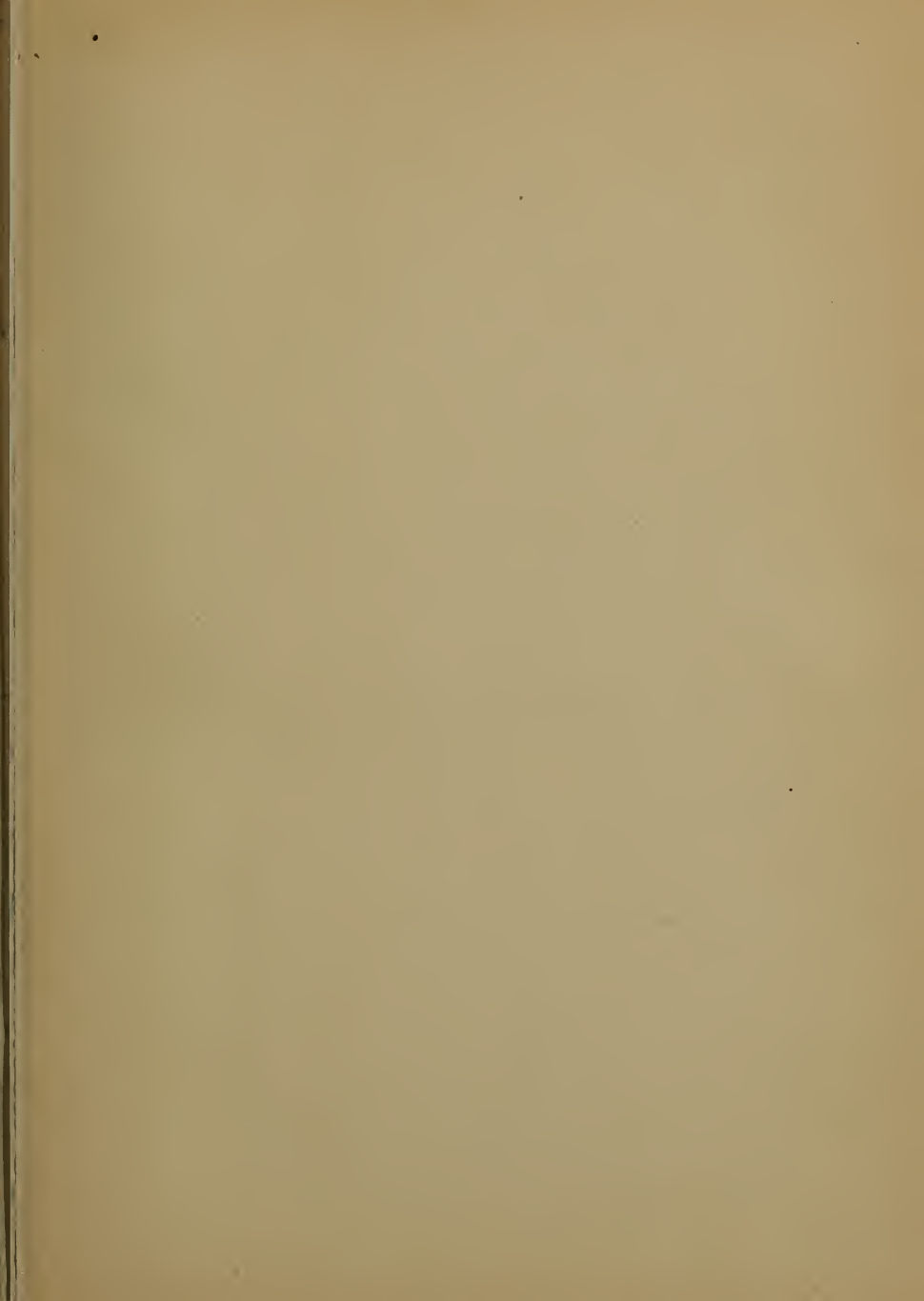
New sources for producing wealth—for instance, Cali-

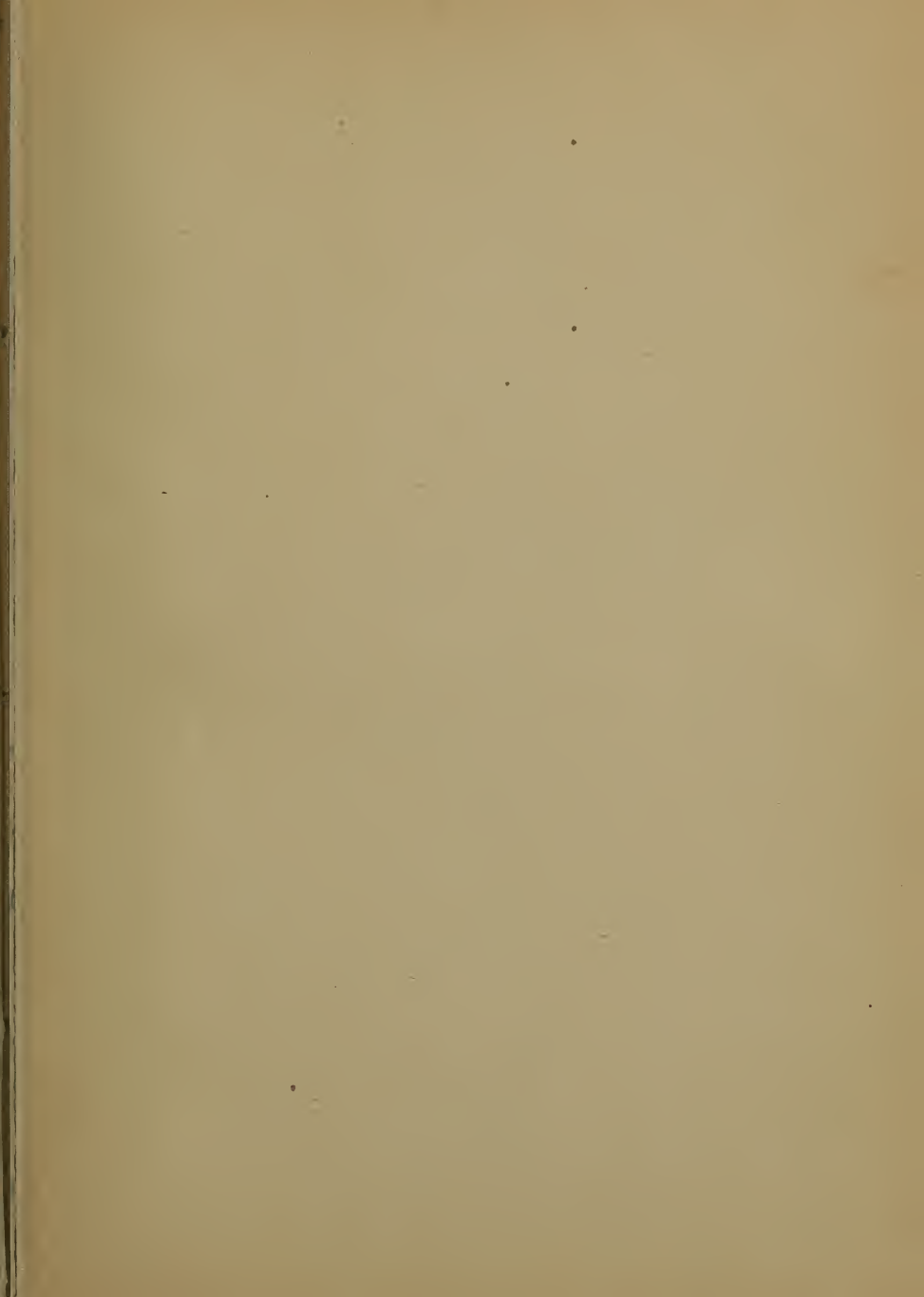
ifornia gold and wheat in the West, have injured both by competition for monopolized raw materials, because of a restricted market at enhanced prices caused thereby, and depreciated the capital used for their production. There has been no element of co-operation or protection of resident American capital. The wealth of California gold and Western wheat should have made the capital of all the rest of the country more profitable, but it has only injured all, by competition, the weaker becoming annihilated. It has only enriched Europe in untold measure, simply because there have actually been less charges on cost of production, by landlord monopolies. When the weaker has been thus annihilated there has been no recompense.

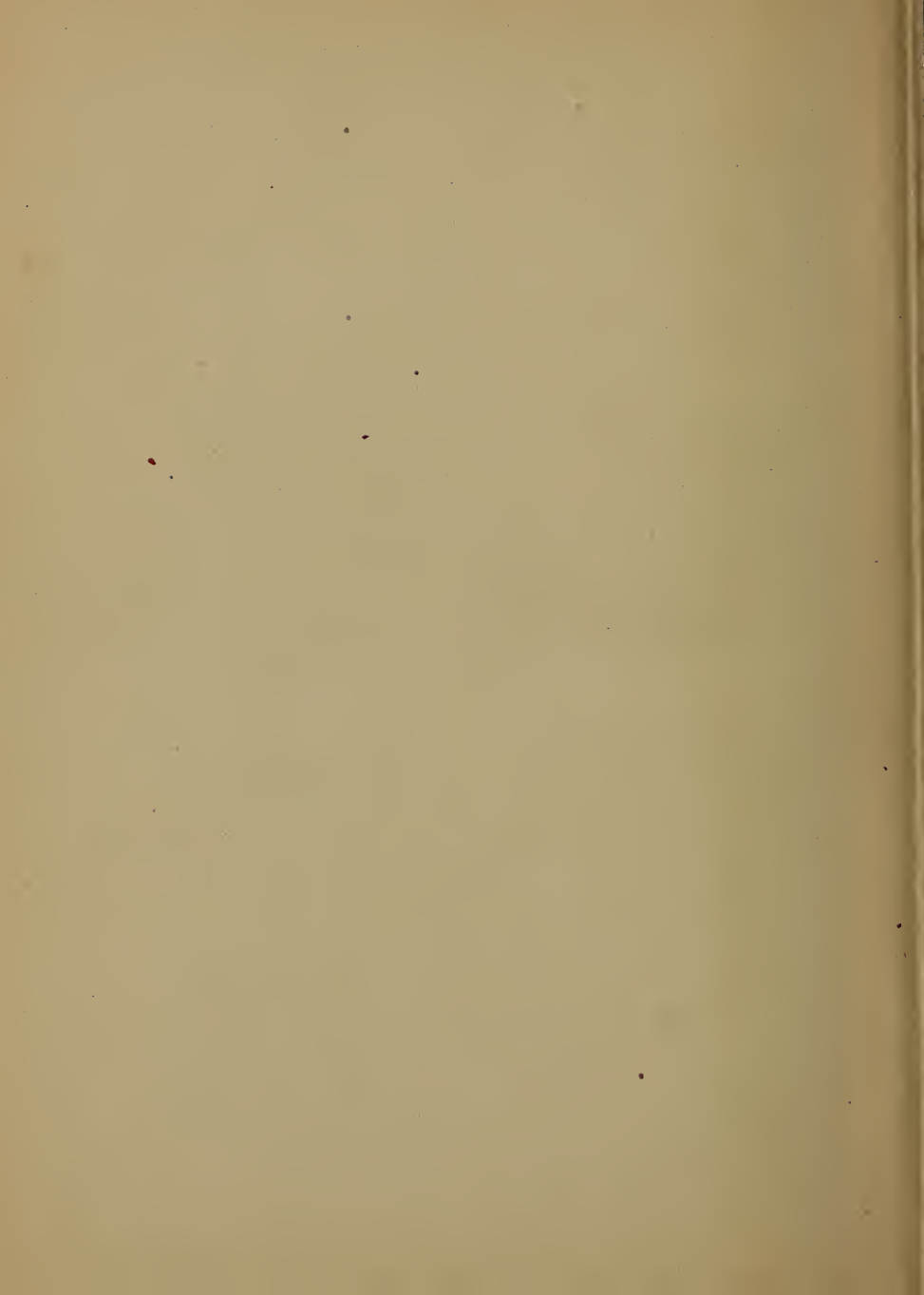
Monopolies in Europe and America have the capital, and control the output of the mines of the world. They conspired to produce a copper syndicate. They, as a silver syndicate, are endeavoring to use the credit of the Federal government to corner the silver market for the benefit of private, at expense of public interests. They will succeed in a copper and countless other syndicates, if only imperialism can control the Federal government, for then all the labor of the world becomes servile. The same causes have ruined the prospects of manufactures, railroads, &c., which the government policy is forcing to a weaker financial condition, that no amount of American enterprise can overcome.

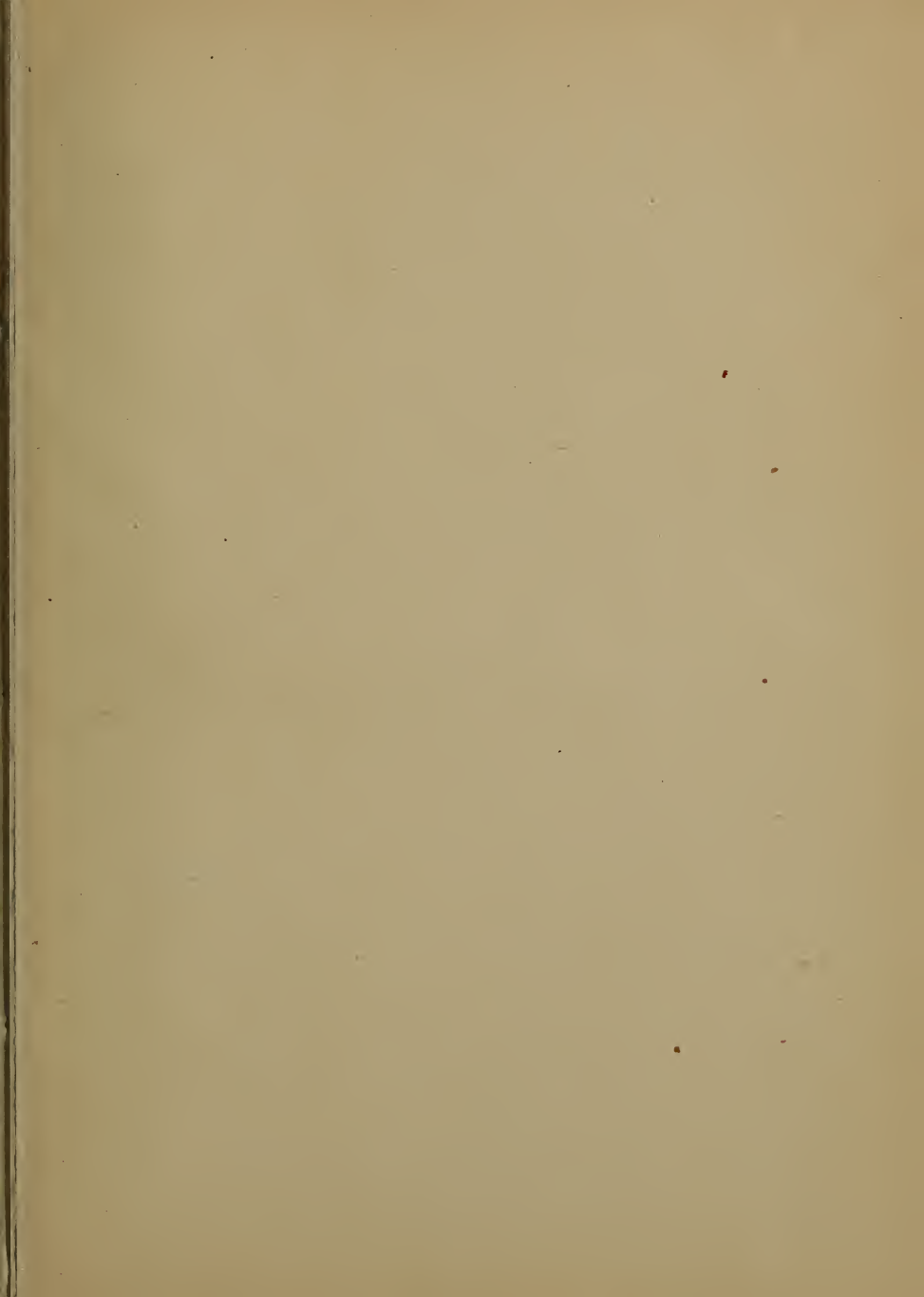
Mr. Lewis needs to be very guarded in considering the conditions of manufacture of tinware, with the promise of tariff restrictions against foreign competition. There is a trap embraced in this same tariff to rob him

of his profits (and make him wish he had remained in Great Britain) for benefit of American landlordism. He may well consider how much in bounties he can make before supply overtakes demand, the market being to an impoverished labor at high price, which will use a great deal less. It is the old bait, to induce immigration of servile labor, to rob it of its profits.









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